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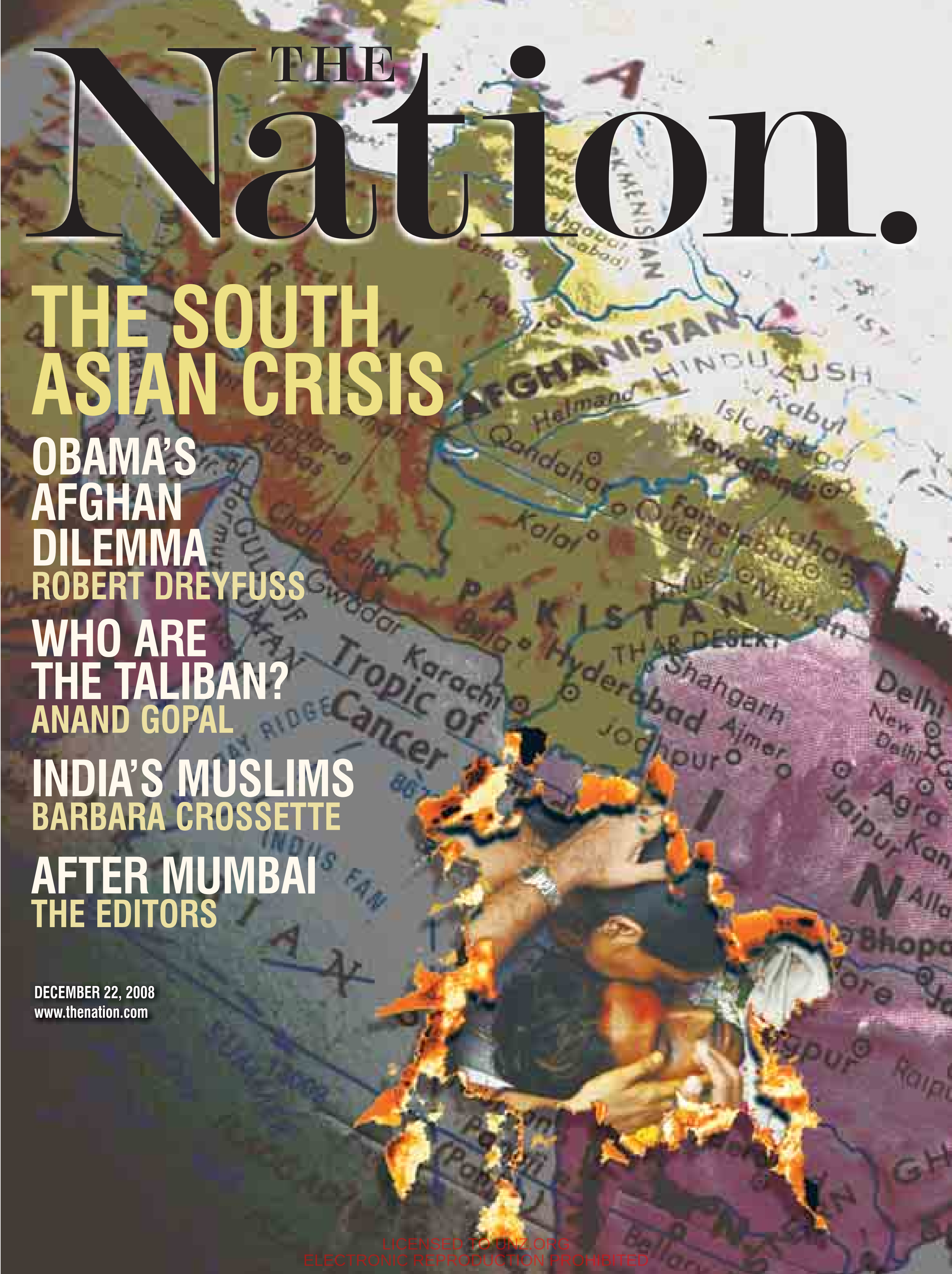

## THE SOUTH ASIAN CRISIS

### OBAMA'S AFGHAN DILEMMA
ROBERT DREYFUSS

### WHO ARE THE TALIBAN?
ANAND GOPAL

### INDIA'S MUSLIMS
BARBARA CROSSETTE

### AFTER MUMBAI
THE EDITORS

DECEMBER 22, 2008
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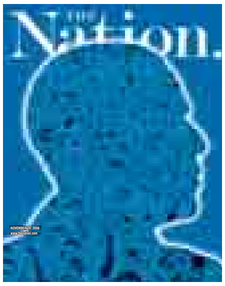
# Letters



## Yes, We Did

Pine Mountain, Calif.
The tears are coming now. Not since the cruel, hopeful spring of 1968, working with Eugene McCarthy to end a different war, have I felt such relief. No one I voted for ever won anything in those days, and no tears came. The tears are coming now. In sheets. Old tears. Buckets of them. They've collected a lifetime. I haven't cried for decades. Now I can't stop. Every time I see Jesse Jackson or John Lewis or Andrew Young or old black ladies hugging and crying outside some Southern clapboard church or a gang of students dancing in some campus quad, I hear the echo of Martin Luther King Jr., and the tears come again. Free at last. An old white man cannot know what black people feel. Their trials can only be imagined. But this one shares their joy. My tears are black.
Douglas Page

San Francisco
I would like to give a *Nation* gift subscription to a Mr. Barack Obama. In January 2009 his address will be 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, DC 20500. I would have gladly given this subscription years ago, but I'm afraid the current resident would not only leave the magazine unread week after week; he wouldn't even bother to recycle it.
Phil Gorn

## Amadeus!

Portland, Ore.
I liked Jonathan Schell's reference to Obama as a "gifted political man—a kind of Mozart of politics" ["When the Gloves Come Off," Nov. 3]. I shared this happy turn of phrase with friends, and one said, Obama is certainly a Mozart, but *we* must play the instruments.
Mary Priem

## Prescience

Danville, Calif.
Going back through the *Nation* archive (a truly invaluable resource) I came across Jonathan Schell's "The Case Against the War" [March 3, 2003]. How prescient was his opening quote from Dwight Eisenhower on "pre-emptive war" coming from the president who also warned us against becoming a war economy. Oh, to hear Ike's words if he saw the state of his Republican Party today.
Greg Arnold

## Medicare (Dis)Advantage

Cataumet (Bourne), Mass.
Perhaps Trudy Lieberman should write another article on healthcare, providing background on Medicare Advantage, how it came about and what its status, coverage and projected costs are. Few healthcare workers seem familiar with the program, and even its subscribers are not adequately informed about it. When it was added to our Medicare insurance, I immediately suspected a move to privatization of healthcare, as Lieberman confirms in her answer to Mary Milliron's letter to the editor [Nov. 24].
Frank J. Corliss Jr.

## Prop 8/Prop Hate

San Francisco
Richard Kim's "Marital Discord" [Nov. 24] touched a still-raw nerve in this reader. I've heard all the explanations proffered for the passage of the hateful Prop 8 except for the explanation that seems to me to be the most blatant and most disturbing. The enemy who defeated us on Prop 8 is not quasi-hidden homophobia among ethnic minorities; the enemy is not the "disorder…endemic to gay efforts"—although those are real and dangerous concerns.

The enemy is religion! Religion is the tool the conservatives used to strip us of a fundamental civil right—the blind, unquestioning herd-think that is inherent in every religion. Proponents of Prop 8 used faith-based, Karl Rovian divide-and-conquer politics at its most cynical and

(continued on page 22)

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# After Mumbai

EDITORIAL

The aftermath of the bloody terrorist attack in Mumbai won't be confined to the city, or to India. It threatens to cascade across the region, from India to Pakistan to Afghanistan and beyond, making the interlocked conflicts in South Asia dramatically worse. Even if it doesn't result in what ought to be unthinkable, but isn't—a war between two hostile, nuclear-armed powers—it could easily escalate into a full-blown crisis.

For Barack Obama, who's inheriting a failed war in Afghanistan, the brewing India-Pakistan emergency threatens to transform an already difficult problem into one that borders on the nightmarish. What has now become a regional crisis demands sustained, multilateral regional diplomacy.

Although details are only beginning to emerge as we go to press, the Mumbai killers seem to have had ties to one or more of the dozens of Islamist guerrilla groups based in Pakistan, such as Lashkar-e-Taiba, that have been seeking to wrest control of Kashmir from India. Most, if not all, of these networks in turn have had murky connections to Pakistan's army and its Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI). Should Indian investigators discover incontrovertible evidence that official Pakistani agencies ordered, or even tolerated, the attacks, it could push the two nuclear-armed, rival giants toward war, with consequences that would be catastrophic.

But even without that proof—and, in fact, it may be impossible to unravel the tangled links between jihadist groups and ISI—India's government finds itself under enormous domestic pressure to strike at New Delhi's enemies. The attack has inflamed Hindu nationalists gathered around the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which is demanding revenge—all the more vociferously as it hopes to regain power in national elections expected this spring. And there have also been calls for India to launch air and artillery raids against jihadist training camps in Pakistan. So far, the Indian government of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who has been labeled by the BJP and its outliers as "soft" on terrorism, has resisted such dangerous actions. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice hastily visited India to urge calm after the Mumbai attack, but she has little moral authority on that score. The precedent set by the United States with its stepped-up pattern of cross-border attacks from Afghanistan into Pakistan is already being cited by radical Indian nationalists as justification to go ahead with similar attacks of their own.

Certainly, both governments want to avoid war. And the vast majority of their peoples reject the ideologies of Hindu sectarianism and Islamist extremism that fuel violent elements on both sides. In a hopeful sign, Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari has promised his government's full cooperation in investigating any Pakistani connections to the Mumbai attack. Still, the heightened tensions could upend the peace process under way between Pakistan and India. That, in turn, would strengthen the hand of coup-prone Pakistan's military establishment, which is brooding about the new civilian government that has replaced dictator Pervez Musharraf. And the army and ISI, which have long used terrorist groups as their secret weapon against India, could exploit the renewed tension to redouble their support for extremist anti-Indian Muslim groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan. There's fertile terrain for such incitement, as the Indian government just last summer violently suppressed peaceful demonstrations in Kashmir, and discrimination against India's Muslim population is widespread (see Barbara Crossette, page 6).

**Page 35**: Jarring bottles

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AVENGING ANGELS

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## This week at thenation.com

**NEWS & ANALYSIS**

Katrina vanden Heuvel: Bread vs. bombs

Steve Fraser: Beyond the bailout

Lakshmi Chaudhry: India's 9/11

Frida Berrigan: Can Obama take on the Pentagon?

**NATION POLL**

Recession's greatest cost

**CONTEST: W.'S NEXT JOB**

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**RADIO NATION**

New deal

It's an ugly situation, and one the United States had a part in creating. In the 1980s America and Saudi Arabia poured billions of dollars into ISI to underwrite the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan, helping to create the same extremist groups, including Al Qaeda, that plague Afghanistan, Pakistan and India—and the United States—today. In the 1990s the United States and Saudi Arabia looked the other way as Pakistan created the Taliban as a tool to establish a radical Islamist regime in Kabul. And in the past several years the United States has poured $11 billion into the Pakistani military, with little or no oversight, in its ironically misguided "war on terror."

As Robert Dreyfuss makes clear on page 11 of this issue, it falls to Barack Obama to create a new path out of the deepening Afghanistan-Pakistan crisis. That crisis, already serious, is now immeasurably more complex. On the need for a lasting diplomatic accord between India and Pakistan that can defang the Pakistani military and lessen its interference in Afghanistan, Obama seems to have gotten it right. More worrisome is Obama's declared intention of escalating the war by sending thousands more US troops into the fray. We can only hope that his instincts tell him there is no military solution to the crisis in South Asia, and that only an agreement among all of that region's stakeholders—India, Pakistan and Afghanistan; neighbors such as Iran and Russia; and a wide spectrum of tribal and ethnic groups and their leaders, including elements of the Taliban movement—can create a lasting and equitable peace. If, that is, by the time Obama takes office, the region hasn't descended into calamity.

# Ending the Mindset

EDITORIAL

During the primary season, candidate Barack Obama spoke eloquently about the need to end not just a war that "should've never been authorized and should've never been waged" but also the "mindset that got us into war" in the first place. Yet as president-elect, he has assembled a national security team whose top members—Joe Biden, Hillary Clinton, Robert Gates and James Jones—either voted to authorize the war or have been waging it. Maybe being right about the greatest foreign policy disaster in US history doesn't mean that much inside the Beltway? Obama has said he welcomes "vigorous debate" and "dissenting views" from his so-called "team of rivals," but with no oppositional—or even unconventional—voice on foreign policy, how will this group of establishment figures bring about the promised transformation of mindset?

On the matter of Iraq, debate and dissent will likely have to come from Obama himself. On December 1, he reaffirmed his plan to withdraw troops within sixteen months, and there is no reason to expect that he'll renege on his signature pledge to "give the military a new mission: ending this war" on the first day of his presidency. But Obama's Iraq plan—sound in principle—has always been heavily qualified with caveats about reassessment based on recommendations from advisers and the military. One of those advisers, Gates, as George W. Bush's defense secretary (an office he will continue to hold), vocally opposed Obama's withdrawal plan. Another, former Marine commander

# Noted.

**HIGHER ED GETS HIT:** In the past few months what started as a banking crisis has spread through a wide array of disparate social sectors, and funding for higher education has not been immune. State budgets and school endowments have felt the effects, and the government has recently taken drastic action to ensure continued access to student loans.

On November 20 the **Education Department** announced it would shortly begin buying $500 million per week of publicly guaranteed private student loans to supply liquidity to a faltering market. According to experts, unguaranteed private loans will shrink this year by roughly one-third, from $19 billion last academic year to between $12 billion and $13 billion this year. To stem the collapse, Congress recently increased federal loan limits by $2,000, and with applications for federal aid up 20 percent in the first six months of this year, the move may have come just in time.

Talk of legislating a mandatory 5 percent endowment payout is circulating in Congress, but endowments are not what they once were. **Moody's Investors Service** estimates they may devalue by as much as 30 percent this fiscal year. **Harvard**'s massive endowment, the largest in higher ed, has already diminished by 22 percent since the end of June, a loss of about $8 billion—and this doesn't include losses in Harvard's private equity or real estate holdings.

Smaller institutions are not faring any better. **Grinnell College**, a private Iowa liberal arts school, has watched its endowment shrink by 25 percent, from $1.47 billion to around $1 billion, and tuition hikes may be in the offing. With this in mind, students have been turning to state schools, with applications at **Binghamton University**, a New York public institution, up 50 percent.

But many of these schools are facing budget cuts. In California, Governor **Arnold Schwarzenegger** has proposed cutting $65.5 million from the University of California system and $66.3 million from the California State University system. In his speech he quoted **Eleanor Roosevelt**, saying, "The things that we refuse to meet today always come back at you later on." Given recent events, a shrinking education sector will surely be a case in point.

COLE ROBERTSON

**THE BLAME GAME:** It's true—our favorite Diva of Derision, **Ann Coulter**, has her jaw wired shut for the next few weeks. But don't worry, there are still plenty of voices out there letting us know who is to blame for this year's economic crises, from the mortgage meltdown to Detroit's malaise. Let's play the blame game!

**Stanley Kurtz** on subprime mortgages: "The real problem, we've been told, lay with Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. In fact, however, ACORN is at the base of the whole mess. ACORN used CRA and Democratic sympathizers to entangle Fannie and Freddie and the entire financial system in a disastrous disregard of the most basic financial standards. And Barack Obama cut his teeth as an organizer and politician backing up ACORN's economic madness every step of the way." (*National Review Online*, October 7)

**Sean Hannity** on subprime mortgages and the auto industry: "The federal government and the Democrats, they forced these banks, through the Community Reinvestment Act, to make these risky loans. The risky loans started the subprime mortgage crisis, which impacted all these financial institutions, which needed government bailouts. In other words, government caused that problem. Government trade policy, energy policy, CAFE economy standards, safety standards, they caused the problems in Detroit. So now we're going to double down on the very root cause of our economic decline by including government more?" (*Hannity & Colmes*, November 24)

**Rush Limbaugh** on Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac: "They were Democrat piggy banks, which is exactly what they were set up for. Everybody in the know saw this coming. The Bush administration saw it coming. The people that saw it coming were beaten down to a pulp by Democrats who did not want to lose the concept of affordable housing for the constituents." (*The Rush Limbaugh Show*, November 25)

**BLOODY FRIDAY:** When Black Friday took a bloody turn this year at a Wal-Mart on Long Island, where a pre-dawn crowd burst into the closed store and trampled to death **Jdimytai Damour**, a 34-year-old employee and Brooklyn native, commentators minced no words in describing the tragedy. A SHOPPING GUERNICA, mourned a headline in the next day's *New York Times*. HELL-MART, screamed the front page of the *New York Post*, above a photo of the riotous bargain hunters pressing through the shattered doors like so many frenzied piranhas.

But if the image of deadly American shopaholics verged on the grotesque, it also obscured a more banal story of abuse that is tragically run-of-the-mill at the nation's largest employer. **Wal-Mart** workers, on average, make less than $20,000 a year, around 20 percent less than retail workers elsewhere in the industry. Damour, one of 25,000 seasonal, temporary employees Wal-Mart will hire this year, most certainly made even less; and though Damour was brought on to accommodate the larger crowds expected during the holidays, a lawyer representing his family claims he was given no training in crowd control.

Less than half of Wal-Mart's 1.4 million employees receive no health insurance from their employer, well below the national average for companies of its size. The company has been exposed for repeated violations of wage-and-hour, child labor, and race and gender discrimination laws, as well as systematically ignored workers' compensation claims filed by employees injured on the job. In recent years, maintenance workers and stockers have been locked in Wal-Mart stores overnight and threatened with dismissal if they use the emergency exits.

Damour's death is a tragedy, a gruesome metaphor for the end of the era of American hyper-consumerism. But no less tragic is Wal-Mart's chronic mistreatment of its workforce, which has become the lowest common denominator in a gutted American economy, dragging down wages and labor standards across the country. Damour deserved better—and so do his surviving co-workers.

MAX FRASER

Jones, Obama's choice for national security adviser, has declared a timeline for withdrawal to be "against our national interest." As president, will Obama set the policy and stick to the vision laid out in his campaign? Or will recommendations from Gates, Jones and other military leaders sway the course?

On other foreign policy issues, Obama is generally in alignment with his national security team. Neither he nor his advisers advocate the Bush doctrine of unilateral military action and preventive war, and all seem inclined to restore diplomacy and multilateral engagement as tools of US foreign policy. Even Gates has urged diplomacy with Iran, decried the "gutting" of America's "soft power" and warned of the "creeping militarization" of foreign policy. Obama's appointment of key adviser Susan Rice as UN ambassador and his restoration of that post to the cabinet are dramatic breaks from Bush's contempt for international institutions. And although Hillary Clinton's hawkish record and vote for the Iraq War are of concern, her nomination is an opportunity for the State Department to reassert itself and diminish the alarmingly large foreign policy role Bush assigned the Defense Department. These gestures toward diplomacy and engagement will be greatly amplified if President Obama and his advisers move swiftly and decisively, as they have signaled they will, to sign global treaties on climate change, women's and children's rights and nuclear weapons reduction, and abolish torture and shut down Guantánamo.

In other respects, the emerging national security consensus of the incoming Obama administration reflects troubling positions Obama has taken in the past. Like Obama, Gates and Jones advocate increasing the US military presence in Afghanistan. As a draft of a National Intelligence Estimate concluded that America was caught in a "downward spiral" in Afghanistan, Gates said that there is "no reason to be defeatist." But extracting the United States from one disastrous occupation to head into another will drain resources needed to fulfill Obama's plans for economic recovery, healthcare and energy independence, and will crowd out other international initiatives.

It is also highly unlikely that Obama's plans to increase the size of the military and expand NATO will be subject to "vigorous debate" within his cabinet. Of course, Obama still has an opportunity to change the mindset that got us into Iraq and more. He has a popular mandate to end failed policies and craft a smarter security policy for these times. But he's sure making his work toughter with the team he's assembled. In many areas, fresh thinking will have to come from outside his administration—and outside Washington.

## Calvin Trillin, Deadline Poet

### Bush Labor Department Hurries To Change Toxic Substance Rules Before Obama Takes Office

For industry they're rushing through some rules
To ease restraints on using toxic goop
And dumping tops of mountains into streams.
In every hole, they seek a larger loop.

The ornithologists can tell us that
Such actions have a simple explanation:
A lame duck, though incapable of flight,
Is fully capable of defecation.

# India's Muslims

**COMMENT**

India and the United States have blamed Lashkar-e-Taiba, an extremist group based in Pakistan, for the horrific terrorist attack in Mumbai. But we cannot rule out the involvement of local people, and there are in fact major rifts in Indian society between Muslims and Hindus.

India's Muslims have deep grievances. Reports by Indian experts substantiate these grievances with statistics; Muslim victims of Hindu attacks fill in the anecdotal evidence; outsiders concur. A Council on Foreign Relations study concluded in 2007 that Indian Muslims are "marginalized" and that the government was dealing only "to some degree" with the problem. A United Nations report further suggested that such conditions could spark serious unrest.

The most recent, most unvarnished survey of Indian Muslim life was carried out by a panel led by Rajindar Sachar, a former chief justice of the Delhi High Court. The findings of that survey were published in late 2006 and sent to Parliament. It has been a touchstone for debate ever since.

The Sachar report acknowledges that Muslims enjoy religious freedom in India, but it paints a grim portrait of their daily lives and chances for advancement, even as India's economy flourishes. The report concludes that "not all religious communities and social groups…have shared equally the benefits of the growth process. Among these, the Muslims, the largest minority community in the country, constituting 13.4 per cent of the population, are seriously lagging behind in terms of most of the human development indicators."

Among other findings that point to low development in many Muslim communities, the report said that Muslims have the highest rate of stunted growth and the second-highest rate of underweight children. Their literacy rate in 2001 was 59 percent, compared with the national average of 65 percent. The report also found that as many as 25 percent of Muslim 6-to-14-year-olds have never been to school or have dropped out, the highest rate in the country.

Although individual Muslims have gained prominence as craftspeople, athletes and entertainers, as a group their poverty rates are close to those of the lowest Hindu castes and outcast communities. Muslims make up only 4 percent of students at top universities and hold only 5 percent of government jobs.

Muslims in India often complain that they are used as "vote banks" by political parties, which pander to them when elections approach (India was the first country to ban Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*); then at other times they are marginalized,

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distrusted and harassed by law enforcement officers. "In general," the Sachar report concludes, "Muslims complained that they are constantly looked upon with a great degree of suspicion not only by certain sections of society but also by public institutions and governance structures. This has a depressing effect on their psyche."

After visiting India earlier this year, Asma Jahangir, a respected United Nations rights monitor and leading Pakistani human rights lawyer, said presciently that the country could face more deadly violence between sectarian communities if much more was not done to deter religious hatred and prevent politicians from exploiting tensions.

Progressives applauded the Sachar report. *Mainstream*, a magazine of the Indian intellectual left, wrote in 2007 that the Sachar report had "nailed the long-touted Right-wing disinformation about Indian Muslims as a skein of lies." The left in India—within the Communist parties as well as among independent thinkers and academics—has been steadfast and clearheaded in its opposition to religious nationalism of any kind. The left has fought, for example, efforts by the anti-Muslim propagandists of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party and numerous fascistlike Hindu-based movements to rewrite textbooks to glorify a mythological Hindu history and downplay the enormous role of Muslims.

"Drawing on every conceivable data source, governmental and other, and interacting widely across 15 Indian States where Muslims live in high concentrations, the Sachar Report records, on the basis of facts that few dare refute, a litany of exclusion, alienation and immiseration," *Mainstream* said. Culling statistics from the report, the magazine added, "Among India's Security Agencies…Muslim representation is 3.2 per cent." It also noted that only 2.1 percent of Muslim farmers owned tractors and a bare 1 percent had hand pumps for irrigation.

In recent decades, Muslim communities in India have been attacked, Muslim weavers have been blinded to destroy their livelihoods, Muslim homes and businesses have been burned and Muslim women have been sexually assaulted with extreme brutality. In 2002 as many as 2,000 Muslims in Gujarat were massacred by Hindu mobs with the acquiescence of the state government and the police, after Muslims were accused, without evidence, of setting fire to a train full of Hindu pilgrims. That death toll, in the home state of Mahatma Gandhi, is ten times the number of those who died in the tragedy in Mumbai.

BARBARA CROSSETTE

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*Barbara Crossette,* The Nation*'s UN correspondent, was chief* New York Times *correspondent in South Asia from 1988 to 1991.*

# Trading Partners

The position of US trade representative has, since it was established during Kennedy's presidency, been occupied by starry-eyed advocates for global economic arrangements that satisfy Wall Street and the investor class but devastate Main Street and the working class—not just in the United States but in the countries with which it trades. Even under Democratic presidents the job has gone to free-trade absolutists such as Mickey Kantor who have neglected concerns about worker rights, human rights, and consumer and environmental protections in favor of the race to the bottom pursued by corporations seeking ever lower wages and laxer regulations.

**COMMENT**

During the campaign, Barack Obama promised to break the cycle by establishing policies and appointing officials who favor, if not quite the fair trade agenda advocated by labor, farm and environmental groups, at least a more balanced approach. It appears that he will follow through on that pledge. Obama has chosen as his trade representative California Representative Xavier Becerra, a member of the Congressional Progressive Caucus who frequently scores 100 percent ratings from the AFL-CIO, the Sierra Club and other groups that have been at odds with the trade policies of the past several administrations. A former chair of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, vice chair of the House Democratic Caucus and key player on the House Ways and Means Committee, Becerra has a long history of engagement with trade debates. That made it particularly significant when, in 2006, he announced that "it has become very obvious that our system for devising trade agreements, so very important to this country's functioning around the world, has not only broken, but it has broken completely."

Becerra is not a resolute fair-trader like Ohio Senator Sherrod Brown, Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders or Ohio Representative Marcy Kaptur. Like Obama, he's a mixed bag who will still need to be prodded by activists, especially as new debates about trade in services evolve. Becerra backed NAFTA as a House freshman, and has voted for several other trade deals. He has since acknowledged, however, that he was wrong to support schemes that may increase commerce but tend to concentrate "the benefits of that commerce in the hands of very few." That's encouraging. Even more encouraging is the fact that since his election to the House in 1992, Becerra has consistently opposed the "fast-track" model for negotiating trade agreements. When Congress grants fast-track authority to a president, it cedes to the trade representative most of its ability to shape policy, retaining only the right to accept or reject a final agreement. If Obama and Becerra simply develop a new approach to negotiating trade agreements, one that involves consultation with Congress, it will be much more likely that labor, consumer and human rights concerns will be addressed.

It is on those human rights issues that Becerra has been a particularly strong player in recent years. The Congressman delivered a national Spanish-language radio address last spring in which he defended the Democratic rejection of Bush's proposed Colombia free trade agreement on the grounds that, "Colombia still remains a dangerous place for those who advocate for worker rights. More than 2,500 labor leaders have been assassinated in Colombia since 1986. What would we say if labor leaders were being assassinated in our country every day, just for standing up for their rights as workers? That is what is happening in Colombia today." The message Becerra delivered was radically at odds with that of Republican and DLC free-traders. If he keeps delivering it as trade representative—along with other fair-trade themes he has articulated—Becerra could become the face of the change in trade policies that Obama promised, and that working people here and abroad can believe in.

JOHN NICHOLS

# Alexander Cockburn

## Shibboleth!

In the wake of the terrorist attack in Mumbai out goes the top federal official, Minister for Home Affairs Shivraj Patil. He says he should have done better. Popular indignation ratifies his judgment. Since Mumbai is in the state of Maharashtra, the chief minister, Vilasrao Deshmukh, has offered his resignation and his number two, R.R. Patil, has quit. Deshmukh says he "accepts moral responsibility." Remember that Maharashtra, at 100 million, has a third the population of the United States, so we're talking about very powerful officials.

Given the ratios of destruction, it's as though New York Mayor Giuliani, Governor Pataki, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice and the heads of the CIA, NSA and FBI had all tendered their resignations on September 12, 2001, which of course none of them did. Like the tribe of Ephraim in the Book of Judges (12:5–6), who couldn't pronounce the word "shibboleth," the tongue and palate of American politicians and bureaucrats simply cannot handle the phrase "moral responsibility," at least as a condition applying to themselves. Remember that the tribe of Gilead made everyone trying to cross the Jordan after the battle say the word "shibboleth," and those who couldn't were put to the sword. The best the Ephraimites could do was "s-s-siboleth." A good lesson here. Line up the high-ups and make them say it. "I accept mowal wes-, wes-, wes-" and down comes the ax.

It's the usual story. There were plenty of warnings. As papers like the London *Sunday Times* detailed, in contrast to very poor real-time coverage here in the United States, months ago the Mumbai police had information elicited from Fahim Ansari, a captive member of the Pakistani group Lashkar-e-Taiba, that a raid on the city was being planned and that he himself had reconnoitered the Taj and Oberoi hotels. The Indian authorities intercepted a telephone call made from a boat in the Arabian Sea less than two weeks before the attack, in which a terrorist suspect said, "We're coming to Mumbai." The Indian coast guard was alerted. But Ajmal Aamer Kasav, the surviving gunman, has apparently told the Mumbai police that he and his fellow gunmen switched ships. Presumably the US National Security Agency had a pile of overheard cellphone calls from the terrorists, calling their families and sponsors in Pakistan and Punjab. Soon we'll be reading about self-aggrandizing leaks from US intelligence officials claiming they tried to warn the Indian authorities. The 9/11 conspiracists will claim it was an inside job.

The brain initially translates the unexpected as a minor aberration of normalcy. Look at what happened in February 2003 in Key West the day Attorney General Ashcroft and Homeland Security czar Ridge announced we're One Nation Under Orange Alert. Four uniformed fugitives from Cuba's navy patrol made landfall on the Homeland, passing undetected by vast flotillas of US Coast Guard and Navy vessels. Clad in their Cuban army fatigues (one had a Chinese-made handgun strapped to his hip), they wandered about, looking for a police station where they could turn themselves in. If of malign intent, the Cubans could have wiped out half the authors on the *New York Times*'s bestseller list with a single salvo.

As the Mumbai carnage raged on, the US press slowly accepted that this wasn't an attack on Westerners, that Indians weren't merely collateral damage. On December 2 Somini Sengupta had a rather sickening story in the *Times* praising the "extraordinary grace" of some courageous Indians evoked by Sengupta in that ultimate imperial accolade, first-class service. "'The only thing was to protect the guests,' said the executive chef, Hemant Oberoi. 'I think my team did a wonderful job in doing that. We lost some lives in doing that.'" Greater love hath no waiter than to lay down his life for the guests. Victorian fiction writers like G.A. Henty had scores of selfless characters like Oberoi.

In the old days the Western press had absolutely no comprehension of fatalities among Asians in numbers less than 50,000—the lower benchmark for newsworthy fatalities. Now it's the other way round. In Western news reports, Indians are individually categorized as among the 188 dead in the Mumbai attack. These days, the larger the number of dead, the less visible they become. The nature of the catastrophe makes a big difference too. No Western journalist chose to bewail a huge human catastrophe when that same chief minister of Maharashtra, Deshmukh, supervised the destruction of 84,000 homes in Mumbai in 2004–05, nearly three times the number rendered homeless in Nagapattinam by the tsunami. "Many people will be inconvenienced and will have to make sacrifices if the city has to develop," Deshmukh said then. Once again, the lowly were making sacrifices in the interests of the mighty, many of them real estate gangsters in league with Deshmukh and the ruling Congress Party.

There was no talk of "moral responsibility" in the Western press about the barbarism of making 84,000 families homeless. Nor did Deshmukh feel compelled to acknowledge moral responsibility when 2006 figures issued by his own bureaucrats recorded 1,400 suicides (undoubtedly a huge underestimate) of Indian farmers in six districts in the Vidarbha region of his state, driven to death by a carefully planned "liberalization" of the farm economy, overseen by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. That state terrorism was of Western origin, promoted by economists, World Bank officials and journalists like the *New York Times*'s Thomas Friedman and Keith Bradsher, stepping onto Indian soil armed with Friedmanite recipes and with cellphone contact to terror centers in Washington, Harvard and Chicago. Almost exactly a year ago Indian journalist P. Sainath reported the suicides of close to 150,000 Indian farmers from 1997 to 2005.

Have the *Times* and *Washington Post* and their leading journalists, salesfolk and apologists for this terrorism ever accepted moral responsibility, or even admitted that their economic analyses of the past two decades have been lethally wrong and at last have come home to roost? Say it! "Mo…mo…mowal…" ■

# Katha Pollitt

# Barack Obama, Feminist in Chief?

"Can't we just be happy for five minutes?" my daughter asks when I tell her about the criticisms Barack Obama is getting from some feminists I know. "It's not that I don't care about sexism. I do! But we have four whole years to complain." Inauguration day is over a month away, but on e-mail lists I belong to, Obama's already chauvinist in chief. He made sexist theorizer Larry Summers director of the National Economic Council. He's turned Michelle Obama, a top-notch lawyer, into a stay-home helpmeet and fashion plate. Barbara Walters's interview with the Obamas comes in for special opprobrium: Barack interrupted Michelle, patronized her ("When Mama's happy, everybody's happy") and on the all-important question of what kind of puppy they would get the children, said it wasn't going to be a (uh-oh) "girly dog" like Walters's beloved Havanese. Not the best choice of words, although I'm with him on little yappy dogs. When I watched the interview on YouTube, I thought the Obamas were great together: affectionate, teasing but respectful, funny, smart, delightful. Barack came across as probably the most involved father to sit in the Senate, let alone the White House, in 200 years. Yes, he interrupted Michelle, but she also interrupted him—and Walters interrupted them both.

SUBJECT to DEBATE

For some women who care about women's equality, the jury is still out on Obama. They voted for him, but they don't trust him to do the right thing for women. Left feminists aren't impressed that he's nominating Hillary Clinton for secretary of state. Mainstream feminists like *Salon*'s Rebecca Traister are disquieted by the "momification" of Michelle. No one has forgotten that Barack called a reporter "sweetie" months ago at a press conference.

Somehow the feminist positions Obama has taken—on reproductive rights, pay equity, domestic violence, Title IX—don't seal the deal. And neither does his support for healthcare and unions and early childhood education and raising the minimum wage—things that, while not gender-specific, will enormously improve the lives of women, perhaps even more than they improve the lives of men.

I don't share the suspicions, the sense of disappointment-in-advance. But I think I understand what's going on. Women's progress has been sluggish for decades—we're still not even 18 percent of Congress, there's only one woman on the Supreme Court, parking lot attendants still make more than child-care workers, marriage is not usually a partnership of equals. Educated working women, who we tend to hear from the most, especially if they are journalists, struggle to fulfill—with not enough help from husbands and almost none from society—the demands of man-size jobs while satisfying standards of motherhood that have become so exacting the Virgin Mary herself would call for a martini. During the Bush years the sense of possibility contracted dramatically, to blaze up with the Hillary Clinton campaign. Never mind that Hillary didn't actually do much for women as either first lady or senator, except in the area of reproductive rights, and that she and Barack had few relevant policy differences. She was a symbol of redress—finally!—for all those pent-up justifiable grievances and frustrations.

Obama needs to meet that longing for a big leap forward. He needs to become a truly feminist president. That means more than protecting reproductive rights and appointing lots of women to significant positions in his administration, important as those things are. And it means more than rolling back the worst effects of the Bush years through laws like the Fair Pay Restoration Act. Basically this would return women's right to sue for pay discrimination to what it was before the Supreme Court narrowed it in *Ledbetter v. Goodyear*. If women are to move forward, we need to move beyond a piecemeal approach.

Obama can't make fathers stay home half the time a child is sick, and he can't make Chris Matthews stop being a jerk about women. But he can take a leaf from the book of Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and make gender equality a keystone of his administration. For example, he can set up a task force to review law and policy on welfare, Social Security, unemployment and tax policy to rectify outmoded assumptions that disadvantage women. Did you know, for example, that most working wives do better if they take their husbands' Social Security benefit over their own, so in effect they pay into the system and get nothing back? That a stay-home wife whose husband made $50,000 a year gets more in Social Security benefits than a working wife in a couple where each made $25,000? That welfare reform keeps low-income single mothers from getting an education?

The economic stimulus is a great place to start addressing gender inequality. In a recent Boston Globe op-ed, "The Macho Stimulus Plan," economist Randy Albelda points out that the jobs Obama talks about—building roads, bridges and schools, developing eco-friendly technologies—are overwhelmingly held by men. It would be nice if suddenly half of construction workers were female, but given that they're now 2.7 percent, realistically that is not going to happen. Even doubling or tripling the small number of women in the relevant job categories would be a stretch. Albelda proposes an additional stimulus plan, for the female side of the economy: "Caring for those who cannot care for themselves, healthcare, and primary education are the very foundation of a civil society. Investing in these outcomes is as vital to our long-term economic health as airports, highways, wind turbines, and energy-retrofitted buildings." Not only do these jobs disproportionately employ women, she points out, but "investments in direct care, education, and healthcare would also go a long way in alleviating poverty."

"We need to put pressure on him now, about concrete policies," historian Linda Gordon, co-founder of Feminists for Obama, told me. "You can be sure that's what the right is doing." ■

# OBAMA'S AFGHAN DILEMMA

## Can he succeed by scaling down Bush's rhetoric, negotiating—and sending more troops?

### by ROBERT DREYFUSS

President-elect Barack Obama says that Afghanistan is "the right war." "It's time to heed the call from General [David] McKiernan and others for more troops," Obama said in late October, referring to the US commander in Afghanistan. "That's why I'd send at least two or three additional combat brigades to Afghanistan." He's coupled that with tough talk about hitting Al Qaeda anywhere, including next door in Pakistan. "If we have Osama bin Laden in our sights and the Pakistani government is unable or unwilling to take them out, then I think that we have to act, and we will take them out," Obama said in the second of his three debates with John McCain. "We will kill bin Laden. We will crush Al Qaeda."

Despite such rhetoric, however, nearly two years ago Obama began assembling a cast of experts steeped in the intricacies of South Asian affairs, and they have provided him with a far richer and more sophisticated view of the Afghanistan–Pakistan tangle than emerged in the campaign. "The format of presidential debates does not lend itself to a nuanced discussion," says Bruce Riedel, wryly. A former CIA specialist on South Asia who served on the National Security Council under Presidents Clinton and Bush, Riedel led an advisory task force on Afghanistan–Pakistan for Obama. Interviews with Riedel and other Obama advisers—who made it clear they were not speaking for the president-elect—suggest that Obama intends to reorient US policy in the region significantly, and a key plank in that reorientation includes negotiations with the enemy. But assertions by the US command and the Obama team that we can both "surge" and negotiate overlook the glaring reality that sending more troops into the Afghan quagmire and urging the Pakistani government to escalate the war it is fighting against its own people will make the crisis worse, not better.

The outlines of Obama's strategy, which aren't likely to be articulated fully until after the inauguration, include a repudiation of the strident "global war on terror" rhetoric that marked President Bush's years and that only inflamed Muslim attitudes toward the United States. Campaign sloganeering aside, Obama may try to curtail the indiscriminate use of air power in Afghanistan against often ill-defined targets ("just air raiding villages and killing civilians" was how he put it in 2007), though how he'll do that while adding more troops and escalating the war isn't clear. He'll slow down, if not halt, the provocative cross-border attacks into Pakistani tribal areas against insurgent bases, even as he reserves the right to hit bin Laden. The incoming administration will take steps to strengthen the fledgling civilian government of President Asif Ali Zardari in Pakistan against the machinations of the Pakistani army and its Inter-Services Intelligence agency (ISI), which maintains covert ties to a wide range of extremist groups, including the Taliban. And it will support a major boost in economic aid to both countries.

Nearly all of Obama's advisers—along with members of a parallel task force at the Center for American Progress, a think tank likely to be the source of many Obama appointees—insist that a central part of a new US policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan must be to facilitate a peace process between Pakistan and India, its giant neighbor to the east. For decades, Pakistan's military and the ISI have lent covert support to Islamist terrorist groups, in Afghanistan and in the disputed territory of Kashmir, as part of a strategy of asymmetric warfare against India. A Pakistan-India accord would strengthen Pakistan's civilian government and undercut the rationale for the army and ISI's ties to the Taliban, allied Afghan Islamist warlords and Kashmiri Islamist militant groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba, suspected of involvement in the Mumbai terror attack. Wendy Chamberlin, US ambassador to Pakistan on 9/11 and a member of Obama's Pakistan task force, is a strong supporter of efforts to forge a Pakistan-India accord. “I argued for it [in 2002],” she says. And I got dismissed.”

Many of Obama's advisers are open to the notion of bringing Iran into the mix, pointing out that Iran was helpful in 2001 in building the original coalition behind Afghan President Hamid Karzai. Iran's role was also highlighted in a September report by a private working group led by Richard Armitage, a former deputy secretary of state, and Lee Hamilton, co-chair of the 9/11 Commission. They suggested connecting Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and Iran in a regional economic community, concluding, “The U.S. should…reconsider its opposition to the proposed Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) pipeline project.” Tariq Ali, a British-Pakistani scholar and author of *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power*, has called for creation of a South Asian Union to facilitate a regional economic resurgence.

> ‘We currently are losing, and the trends have been consistent…we face a crisis in the field—right now.’ —Anthony Cordesman, CSIS

Even as they favor eventual talks with “reconcilable” elements of the Taliban movement, some of Obama's advisers and Gen. David Petraeus, the Centcom commander, defend their call for a surge by arguing that their first priority is to stabilize Afghanistan militarily. “Trying to divide your enemy is always a smart thing to do,” says Riedel. “But until we break the momentum that the Taliban has today, where they feel that they're the winner, I don't see that you have any credible chance of persuading even a small number of Taliban to break. They think they're winning, and if you look at the numbers, you can make a pretty convincing case.”

In the first ten months of this year, 255 US and NATO troops were killed in Afghanistan, more than all those who died in the first four years of the war in Afghanistan put together. Entire swaths of southern Afghanistan, in provinces along the Pakistan border south and east of Kabul, are controlled by the Taliban and their allies. Lately they have been able to strike with impunity even within Kabul, the Afghan capital. The CIA has been warning for more than two years that Afghanistan was spinning out of control. A forthcoming National Intelligence Estimate, representing the views of sixteen US intelligence agencies, warns that Afghanistan is in a “downward spiral” and, according to the *New York Times*, “casts serious doubt on the ability of the Afghan government to stem the rise in the Taliban's influence there.” The enemy has also evolved as a fighting force. Already by 2006, according to a report for West Point by retired Gen. Barry McCaffrey, the Taliban were fielding battalion-size units of more than 400 fighters. In some provinces the Taliban and their allies are creating a parallel state, appointing governors and provincial officials and establishing Sharia-style courts.

The counterinsurgency is made all the more difficult by the nature of the enemy, an exceedingly complex, multiheaded Islamist insurgency in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It goes far beyond Mullah Omar's Taliban and Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda. “Calling it the Taliban is a failure to understand what's going on,” says Seth Jones, an expert on Afghanistan and terrorism at the RAND Corporation. “It's a movement, not an organization,” explains Chas Freeman, president of the Middle East Policy Council and a former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia. “What we conveniently have been labeling ‘the Taliban’ is a phenomenon that includes a lot of people simply on the Islamic right.” In all, the US military has identified at least fourteen separate insurgent organizations in Afghanistan, and according to Riedel, there are as many as fifty separate Islamist formations in neighboring Pakistan [see Anand Gopal, page 17, for more on the insurgency].

At the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Anthony Cordesman, a sober-minded, conservative military analyst, sounded the alarm. “We are running out of time,” he wrote. “We currently are losing, and the trends have been consistent since 2004…we face a crisis in the field—right now.” The situation, he said, is far more urgent than anything that can be solved by economic aid or nation-building efforts. “At least during 2009–10, priority must be given to warfighting needs.” McKiernan, the US commander, has called for at least four more brigades, perhaps as many as 25,000 troops. He warned that the mission in Afghanistan will require a “sustained commitment” lasting many years, and the United States has announced plans to help more than double the size of the Afghan National Army (ANA), to 134,000 troops. “This is a decades-long project,” says Ashley Tellis, a former National Security Council specialist on South Asia, who adds that it will take at least ten years before the United States can withdraw and let the ANA fight its own battles. “The transition alone will take a decade, until you can switch to the ANA,” he says.

But surging troops into Afghanistan would be akin to sending the fabled 600 into the valley of death. As in Vietnam, tens of thousands more troops will only provide the Taliban with many more targets, sparking Pashtun nationalist resistance and inspiring more recruits for the insurgency. Advocates of sending additional US forces into this maelstrom have yet to articulate exactly how another 25,000 can turn the tide. Tariq Ali says that pacifying the country would require at least 200,000 more troops, beyond the 62,000 US and NATO forces there now, and that it would necessitate laying waste huge parts of Afghanistan. Many Afghan watchers consider the war unwinnable, and they point out that in the 1980s the Soviet Union, with far more troops, had engaged in a brutal nine-year counterinsurgency war—and lost. British Ambassador to Afghanistan Sherard Cowper-Coles has warned against precisely the escalation that Obama and Petraeus advocate. Sending more troops, he says, “would have perverse effects: it would identify us even more

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*Robert Dreyfuss is a* Nation *contributing editor.*

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Dr. Bart D. Ehrman is the James A. Gray Professor and Chair of the Department of Religious Studies at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He received his Masters of Divinity and Ph.D. from Princeton Theological Seminary. He has won several teaching awards, including the Students' Undergraduate Teaching Award and the Bowman and Gordon Gray Award for Excellence in Teaching. Professor Ehrman has written or edited more than 15 books, including *The New York Times* bestseller, *Misquoting Jesus,* and *Jesus: Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium*.

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strongly as an occupation force and would multiply the targets [for the insurgents].” A top British general, Brig. Mark Carleton-Smith, says, “We’re not going to win this war.… It’s about reducing it to a manageable level of insurgency that’s not a strategic threat.”

“What began as a punitive raid aimed at beheading Al Qaeda and chastising its Afghan household staff has somehow morphed—with no real discussion or debate—into a prolonged effort to pacify Afghanistan and transform its society,” says Freeman. “This moving of the goal posts gratified neoconservatives and liberal interventionists alike. Our new purpose became giving Afghanistan a centrally directed state—something it had never had. We now fight to exclude reactionary Muslims from a role in governing the new Afghanistan.” Freeman suggests that this is an untenable goal, and that it is time to co-opt local authorities and enlist regional allies in search of a settlement.

Those who insist the war is winnable, including US and NATO commanders, also say that it can’t be won without taking the war across the border to Taliban sanctuaries in Pakistan’s tribal areas, an escalation that’s already under way. But this poses a whole new set of problems. The situation in Pakistan is only slightly less dire than in Afghanistan. The country emerged this year from nearly a decade under a US-backed military dictatorship and faces a daunting set of challenges. A multipronged insurgency based in the tribal areas is spreading its influence into the neighboring North-West Frontier Province, and it has reached all the way to Islamabad, Pakistan’s capital, where assassinations and suicide bombings occur regularly. The new government is weak and divided, with little or no control over the Pakistani army and ISI. And its economy is virtually bankrupt: with inflation at 25 percent and vast unemployment, the country is desperately seeking $10 billion to $15 billion in immediate financial aid.

> ‘The Afghan Taliban has created a Pakistani Taliban…a Frankenstein the Pakistani army can’t control.’ —Bruce Riedel, Obama adviser

Yet the fragile Pakistani state is being pushed to the breaking point by the Bush administration. Since August, nearly two dozen CIA Predator missile attacks in tribal areas have inflamed much of the country against the United States. Already, before the spate of attacks, public opinion polls showed that 86 percent of Pakistanis say the goal of the United States is to “weaken and divide the Islamic world,” 84 percent say the United States is a greater threat than Al Qaeda and the Taliban, and 89 percent oppose Pakistan’s cooperation with the US “war on terror.” Many Pakistanis blame the United States for its fifty-year record of propping up military dictators, which makes it hard for the United States to support even its allies, such as President Zardari. “Right now, we’re kind of the kiss of death,” says Marvin Weinbaum, a scholar at the Middle East Institute who was part of Obama’s Pakistan task force.

Since 9/11, Pakistan has received more than $11 billion in US aid, but almost all of it has flowed into the coffers of Pakistan’s army and ISI, with little or no oversight. According to a report by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, between 2002 and 2007 only 10 percent of US aid was devoted to development and humanitarian assistance. That avalanche of cash to the military has allowed the ISI free rein to support its network of Islamist extremists, which it has built up systematically since the 1980s. As long as ISI helped nab an occasional Al Qaeda bigwig, even as it tolerated or supported the Afghan Taliban and other Islamist radicals, the United States went along. “We’ve got to put an end to this dirty game, where Pakistan uses surrogate terrorist groups,” says Chamberlin.

Even those fighting the war have difficulty distinguishing friends from enemies. Michael Vickers, assistant secretary of defense for special operations and low-intensity conflicts, who oversees a Pentagon anti-terrorism force, isn’t sure. Asked if ISI is on our side or not, he pauses. “It’s complicated. I’ll put it that way,” he says finally. “It’s not black and white.” Last summer Zardari attempted to bring ISI under the control of the civilian-run Interior Ministry, but the idea was quickly shot down. “That lasted eight hours,” says Steve Coll, author of *Ghost Wars*, a book about the CIA and Afghanistan that Obama was recently seen carrying. “Somebody told the ISI about the announcement, and they said, ‘No, that won’t be happening.’ ” Then, in the fall, Pakistan’s army chief of staff installed a new set of generals atop the ISI, though there was widespread skepticism that the move reflected a real policy change by the army.

Yet Pakistani attitudes are slowly changing, even inside the military, analysts say. The assassination of Benazir Bhutto a year ago and the massive bombing of the Marriott hotel in Islamabad in September alarmed many generals about the threat to Pakistan from its Islamist creations. “Pakistan has had a tolerance and a see-no-evil attitude toward the Taliban,” says Riedel. “But the Afghan Taliban has also created a Pakistani Taliban, which is a Frankenstein the Pakistani army can’t control. So it still has relations with parent Taliban, but the infant Taliban is now increasingly a threat to the cohesion of the Pakistan state, and it’s a physical threat to the Pakistani army and even to the ISI. This is the classic case of a covert action program getting out of control.”

As a result, of late the army is scrambling to control a crisis of its own making, without much success. It has launched a three-pronged military offensive in the tribal areas and nearby districts, but—having spent a half-century preparing for a tank war with India—the Pakistani army is not well equipped to fight a counterinsurgency war. And in the tribal areas the Pakistani army, which is mostly Punjabi, is seen as a foreign force by local Pashtuns, while many Pakistani officers and enlisted men are loath to fight against their compatriots in what they see as America’s war. Both the military and the Pakistan government have tried to build tribal militias to combat the Taliban, but so far this effort hasn’t paid off. And the government has tried to encourage the holding of tribal jirgas, or councils, to generate grassroots opposition to the dominance of Taliban-like elements in and around the tribal areas. That, too, hasn’t worked well, since the Taliban have engaged in murderous counterattacks, including gruesome killings and suicide bomb attacks aimed at the jirgas. Many in Pakistan are operating under outdated assumptions about the tribes in the northwest, says Christine Fair, an independent expert on South Asia who took part in the Center for American Progress study. "The jirgas used to be made up of secular tribal leaders," she says. "Now, they meet in mosques and madrassas." Since the US-backed anti-Soviet *jihad* of the 1980s, madrassas, or religious schools, have become factories and recruiting areas for militant Islamists.

Part of the solution, stressed by all of Obama's aides, is more economic support to both countries, targeted toward building infrastructure, improving agriculture, providing microcredit for small business and constructing schools and clinics. One member of Obama's task force on Pakistan is Jonah Blank, a senior staff member at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who is a key aide to Vice President–elect Joe Biden. Blank was a driving force behind the Biden-Lugar-Obama bill to provide $1.5 billion a year for ten years in economic support to Pakistan. A parallel effort for Afghanistan, including what Obama calls a Marshall Plan–style mobilization, is also under way. "Call it a democracy dividend," says Blank. "The civilians can say, 'See? We deliver.'"

But economic development takes a long time to be felt, and the crisis is now. If the wars in Pakistan and Afghanistan aren't going to be resolved militarily—and they won't be—the solution to both crises, now inextricably linked, must be a diplomatic one: first, negotiations with many of the forces opposing the two governments and the US presence in the region, and, second, progress toward a Pakistan-India accord.

In Pakistan, the Zardari government and the Parliament have strongly endorsed talks with the Taliban, better organized than the faltering accords announced in 2004 and 2006. In Afghanistan, Karzai declared in mid-November that he is open to direct talks with Mullah Omar. And in late October, tribal elders and dozens of Pakistani and Afghan officials convened a two-day "mini-jirga" intended to be the start of a dialogue with the Taliban. Owais Ghani, governor of the North-West Frontier Province and a leader of the secular, nationalist ANP party, said at the mini-jirga: "We will sit, we will talk to them, they will listen to us, and we will come to some sort of solution."

Karzai's offer to Mullah Omar, which was unprecedented, followed two years of quiet discussions in South Asia, Europe and the Middle East among Pakistani and Afghan officials, former leaders of the Taliban and members of Saudi Arabia's royal family, including King Abdullah. Among the participants: Karzai's brother and Nawaz Sharif, a Pakistani politician with close ties to the religious establishment who spent years in exile in Saudi Arabia. According to news reports, London and Paris provided logistical and diplomatic support for the contacts. The Pakistani daily *Dawn* reported that French foreign minister Bernard Kouchner is supporting talks between Karzai and "moderates within the Taliban," and he has invited Iran and Pakistan to Paris to participate in talks on Afghanistan.

So far, Mullah Omar has rejected Karzai's offer of direct talks, and the Taliban continues to insist on the withdrawal of US and NATO forces before any deal. A deal with the Islamist insurgency, or at least enough of it to make it stick, is an exceedingly difficult undertaking, and most of Obama's advisers are skeptical that it can work. India, Iran and Russia, which supported the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance in the decade before 9/11, won't look with favor on a US-Saudi effort to allow the Taliban back in power, so their concerns will have to be taken into account. The fragmented nature of the Taliban movment makes it hard to figure out whom, exactly, to negotiate with. And though parts of the movement may be pragmatic enough to strike a deal, other parts are likely to fight to the bitter end.

The Obama team is far more supportive of an urgent diplomatic initiative to bring Pakistan and India toward an accord. But after the Mumbai attack, with its potential to bring the two countries back to the brink of war, that is a task that has just become far more difficult. "This requires great subtlety and a degree of sophistication that, I have to say, is not the norm in American diplomacy," says Riedel. "It calls for a stretch. I think the way to start is with very, very quiet conversations between the United States and India, and I think that the new relationship that we have with India gives us a better platform than ever before." India, Riedel says, is worried that the United States will seek a deal with Pakistan at India's expense. But closer US-India ties, cemented by a recent deal over India's nuclear program, give Washington new credibility to assure New Delhi that its interests in Kashmir and Afghanistan, where India is worried about a Taliban resurgence, will be protected.

'The mainstream of the Pakistani army no longer sees India as the main threat.'

—Ashley Tellis, Carnegie Endowment

India is deeply involved in Afghanistan now, and its role there is causing a degree of paranoia in Pakistan. India, along with Iran and Russia, helped oust the Pakistan-backed Taliban in 2001. India has provided $1.2 billion in aid to Afghanistan since then, and it has opened consulates in four Afghan cities that, Pakistan fears, could be bases for Indian intelligence. It is against that threat, historically, that Pakistan has supported right-wing Islamists. But India is a power with global ambitions, a thriving economy and powerful armed forces, and it is becoming clear in Pakistan that it can no longer compete with India, which is causing an outbreak of realism inside the Pakistani army. Ashley Tellis, now of the Carnegie Endowment, has had extensive contacts with Pakistan's military. "The mainstream of the Pakistani army no longer sees India as the main threat," he says. "There may be some of the far right, among the Islamists, who believe that India is the central danger." But Tellis says they are a minority. "To protect their institutional interests, they know that they must have a rapprochement with India."

The opportunity for a dialogue with elements of the Taliban and the possibility of a peace process between Pakistan and India constitute the true exit strategy for the United States in Afghanistan. But to nail down a deal with the insurgents, the United States will have to offer them what they most want, namely, a timetable for the withdrawal of US and NATO forces. "What the insurgents do seem to agree about is that foreigners

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shouldn't run their country, and that the country should be run according to the principles of Islam," says Chas Freeman.

"We need to recall the reason we went to Afghanistan in the first place," he says. "Our purpose was…to deny the use of Afghan territory to terrorists with global reach. That was and is an attainable objective. It is a limited objective that can be achieved at reasonable cost. We must return to a ruthless focus on this objective. We cannot afford to pursue goals, however worthy, that contradict or undermine it. The reform of Afghan politics, society and mores must wait."

Meanwhile, the stage is set. The governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan want peace talks with Islamist insurgents and the Taliban. Outside powers, led by Saudi Arabia and quietly supported by Britain and France, are facilitating behind-the-scenes contacts between the Taliban and key Afghan and Pakistani leaders. Neighboring states, including India, Russia and Iran, while hardly enamored of the Taliban, might underwrite a truce. And the possibility of a regional economic pact linking Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India could tie it all together.

Al Qaeda, pushed into remote redoubts in Pakistan's mountains, is most certainly still plotting against the United States. But many, perhaps most, of its fair-weather allies on the Islamic right, including the Taliban, might very well be persuaded to make a final break with Osama bin Laden and his ilk if they can get a better deal, including a share of power in Kabul. Will President Obama seize the moment? Will he have the courage to offer an end to US occupation of Afghanistan if the Taliban-led movement abandons its ties to Al Qaeda? ■

# Who Are the Taliban?

## Far from monolithic, the movement is a mix of nationalists, Islamists and bandits.

**by ANAND GOPAL**

*Kabul*

If there is an exact location marking the West's failures in Afghanistan, it is the modest police checkpoint that sits on the main highway twenty minutes south of Kabul. The post signals the edge of the capital, a city of spectacular tension, of blast walls and standstill traffic. Beyond this point, Kabul's gritty, low-slung buildings and narrow streets give way to a vast plain of serene farmland, hemmed in by sandy mountains. In this valley in Logar province, the American-backed government of Afghanistan no longer exists.

Instead of government officials, men in muddied black turbans with assault rifles slung over their shoulders patrol the highway, checking for thieves and "spies." The charred carcass of a tanker, meant to deliver fuel to international forces farther south, sits belly-up on the roadside. The police say they don't dare enter these districts, especially at night, when the guerrillas rule the roads. In some parts of the country's south and east, these insurgents have even set up their own government, which they call the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, the name of the former Taliban government. They mete out justice in makeshift Sharia courts. They settle land disputes between villagers. They dictate the curriculum in schools.

Just three years ago, the central government still controlled the provinces near Kabul. But years of mismanagement, rampant criminality and mounting civilian casualties inflicted by Western forces have led to a spectacular resurgence of the Taliban and related groups. According to Acbar, an umbrella organization representing more than 100 aid agencies, insurgent attacks have increased by 50 percent over the past year. Foreign soldiers are now dying at a higher rate here than in Iraq.

Taliban leaders Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (left) and Jalaluddin Haqqani

HASAN SARBAKHSHIAN/AP (LEFT); MOHAMMED RIAZ/AP

The worsening disaster is prompting the Afghan government of President Hamid Karzai and international players to speak openly of negotiations with sections of the insurgency. But who exactly are the Afghan insurgents? Every suicide attack and kidnapping is usually attributed to "the Taliban." In reality, however, the insurgency is far from monolithic. There are the shadowy, kohl-eyed mullahs and head-bobbing religious students, of course, but there are also erudite university students, veteran anti-Soviet commanders and poor, illiterate farmers. The movement is a mélange of nationalists, Islamists and bandits that fall uneasily into three or four main factions and many subfactions. The factions have competing commanders with differing ideologies and strategies, who nonetheless agree on one essential goal: kicking out the foreigners.

It wasn't always this way. When US-led forces toppled the Taliban government in November 2001, Afghans celebrated the downfall of a reviled and discredited regime. "We felt like dancing in the streets," one Kabuli told me. As US-backed forces marched into Kabul, remnants of the old Taliban regime split into three groups. The first, including many Kabul-based bureaucrats and functionaries, simply surrendered to the Ameri-

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cans; some even joined the Karzai government. The second, comprising the movement's senior leadership, including "Commander of the Faithful" Mullah Omar, fled across the border into Pakistan, where they remain to this day. The third and largest group—foot soldiers, local commanders and provincial officials—quietly melted into the landscape, returning to their villages to wait and see which way the wind would blow.

Meanwhile, the country was quickly being carved up by warlords and criminals. On the brand-new highway connecting Kabul to Kandahar and Herat, built with millions of Washington's dollars, well-organized groups of bandits would regularly terrorize travelers. Last year "thirty, maybe fifty criminals, some in police uniforms, stopped our bus and shot [out] our windows," Muhammadullah, the owner of a bus company that regularly uses the route, told me. "They searched our vehicle and stole everything from everyone." Criminal syndicates, often with government connections, organized kidnapping sprees in urban centers. Often, those few who were caught would simply be released after the right palms were greased.

Into this landscape of violence and criminality rode the Taliban, promising law and order—just as they did when they first formed in the mid-1990s, when they were welcomed by many Afghans as relief from the rapacious post-Soviet warlords. Within two years after the 2001 invasion, the exiled leadership, based in Quetta, Pakistan, began reactivating networks of fighters who had blended into Afghan villages. They resurrected relationships with Pashtun tribes. (The insurgents, historically a predominantly Pashtun movement and mostly concentrated in the country's south and east, still have very little influence among other minority ethnic groups like the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hezaras.) With funds from wealthy Arab donors and training from ISI, the Pakistani intelligence apparatus, they were able to bring weapons and expertise into Pashtun villages.

In one village after another, the Taliban drove out the remaining minority of government sympathizers through intimidation and assassination. Then they won over the majority with promises of security and efficiency. They implemented a harsh version of Sharia law, cutting off the hands of thieves and shooting adulterers. They were brutal, but they were also incorruptible. Justice no longer went to the highest bidder. "There's no crime anymore, unlike before," said Abdul Halim, who lives in a district under Taliban control.

The insurgents conscripted fighters from the villages they operated in, often paying $200 a month—more than double the typical police salary. They adjudicated disputes between tribes and between landowners. They protected poppy fields from the eradication attempts of the central government and foreign armies—a move that won the support of poor farmers whose only stable income came from poppy cultivation. The areas under insurgent control were consigned to having neither reconstruction nor social services, but for rural villagers who had seen much foreign intervention and little economic progress under the Karzai government, this was hardly new.

At the same time, the Taliban's ideology began to transform. "We are fighting to free our country from foreign domination," Taliban spokesman Qari Yousef Ahmadi told me over the phone. "The Indians fought for their independence against the British. Even the Americans once waged an insurgency to free their own country." This emerging nationalistic streak appeals to Pashtun villagers, who have grown weary of the American and NATO presence.

The insurgents are also fighting to install a version of Sharia law. Nonetheless, the famously puritanical guerrillas have moderated some of their most extreme doctrines, at least in principle. Last year, for instance, Mullah Omar issued an edict declaring music and parties—banned in the Taliban's previous incarnation—permissible. Some commanders have even started accepting the idea of girls' education. Certain hardline leaders such as the one-legged Mullah Dadullah, a man of legendary brutality whose beheading binges reportedly proved too much even for Mullah Omar, were killed by international forces.

At the same time, a more pragmatic leadership started taking the reins. American intelligence officials believe day-to-day leadership of the movement is now in the hands of the politically savvy Mullah Brehadar, while Mullah Omar retains a largely figurehead position. Brehadar may be behind the push to moderate the movement's message in order to win support. Even at the local level, some Taliban officials are tempering their older policies in order to win local hearts and minds. Three months ago in a district in Ghazni province, for instance, the insurgents ordered all schools closed. Tribal elders appealed to the Taliban's ruling religious council in the area; the religious judges reversed the decision and reopened the schools.

However, not all field commanders follow the central injunctions. In many Taliban-controlled districts such amusements as music and parties are still outlawed, which points to the movement's decentralized nature. Local commanders often set their own policies and initiate attacks without direct orders from the leadership. The result is a slippery movement that morphs from district to district. In some Taliban-controlled districts of Ghazni province, an Afghan caught working for a nongovernmental organization would meet certain death. In parts of neighboring Wardak province, however, where the insurgents are said to be more educated and understand the need for development, local NGOs can function with the guerrillas' permission.

## The 'Other' Talibans

Never short of guns and guerrillas, Afghanistan has proven fertile ground for a host of insurgent groups in addition to the Taliban.

Naqibullah, a student with a sparse beard who spoke in soft, measured tones, was not quite 30 when we met. We were parked in the back seat of a dusty Corolla on a pockmarked road near Kabul University, where he studied medicine. Naqibullah (his nom de guerre) and his friends at the university are members of Hizb-i-Islami, an insurgent group led by warlord Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and allied with the Taliban. Naqibullah's circle of friends meet regularly in the university's dorms, discussing politics and watching DVDs of recent attacks. Over the past year his circle has shrunk: Sadiq was arrested while attempting a suicide bombing. Wasim was killed when he tried to assemble a bomb at home. Fouad killed himself in a successful suicide attack on a US base. "The Americans have their B-52s," Naqibullah explained. "Suicide attacks are our versions of B-52s." Like his friends, Naqibullah had considered becoming a B-52. "But it would kill too many civilians," he told me. Besides, he had plans to use his education.

He said, "I want to teach the uneducated Taliban."

For years Hizb-i-Islami fighters have had a reputation for being more educated and worldly than their Taliban counterparts, who are often illiterate farmers. Their leader, Hekmatyar, studied engineering at Kabul University in the 1970s, where he made a name for himself by hurling acid in the faces of unveiled women. Hekmatyar established Hizb-i-Islami to counter growing Soviet influence, and in the 1980s his organization became one of the most extreme fundamentalist parties as well as the leading mujahedeen group fighting the Soviet occupation. Ruthless, powerful and anti-Communist, Hekmatyar proved a capable ally for Washington, which, along with the Saudis, funneled billions of dollars and tons of weapons through the Pakistani ISI to his forces.

After the Soviet withdrawal, Hekmatyar and the other mujahedeen commanders turned their guns on one another, unleashing a devastating civil war from which Kabul, in particular, has yet to recover. One-legged Afghans, crippled by Hekmatyar's rockets, still roam the city's streets. However, he was unable to capture the capital, and his Pakistani backers eventually abandoned him for a new, even more extreme Islamist force rising in the south: the Taliban.

Most Hizb-i-Islami commanders defected to the Taliban, and Hekmatyar fled in disgrace to Iran, losing much of his support in the process. He remained in such low standing that he was among the few warlords not offered a place in the US-backed government that formed after 2001. This, after a fashion, was his good luck. When that government faltered, he found himself thrust back into the role of insurgent leader, and, playing on local frustrations in Pashtun communities just as the Taliban have done, he slowly resurrected Hizb-i-Islami.

Today the group is one of the fastest-growing insurgent outfits in the country, according to Antonio Giustozzi, Afghan insurgency expert at the London School of Economics. Hizb-i-Islami maintains a strong presence in the provinces near Kabul and in Pashtun pockets in the country's north and northeast. It assisted in a complex assassination attempt on President Karzai this past spring and was behind a high-profile ambush that killed ten NATO soldiers last summer. Its guerrillas fight under the Taliban banner, although independently and with a separate command structure. Like the Taliban, its leaders see their task as restoring Afghan sovereignty as well as establishing an Islamic state in Afghanistan. Naqibullah explained, "The US installed a puppet regime here. It was an affront to Islam, an injustice that all Afghans should rise up against."

The independent Islamic state that Hizb-i-Islami is fighting for would undoubtedly have Hekmatyar, not Mullah Omar, in command. But as during the anti-Soviet jihad, the settling of scores is largely being left to the future.

## Living in a World of War

Blowback abounds in Afghanistan. Erstwhile CIA hand Jalaluddin Haqqani heads yet a third insurgent network, this one based in the eastern border regions. During the anti-Soviet war, the United States gave Haqqani, now considered by many to be Washington's most redoubtable foe, millions of dollars, antiaircraft missiles and even tanks. Washington was so enamored of him that former Congressman Charlie Wilson once called him "goodness personified."

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Haqqani was an early advocate of the "Afghan Arabs," who in the 1980s flocked to Pakistan to join the jihad against the Soviet Union. He ran training camps for them and later developed close ties to Al Qaeda, which developed out of the Afghan Arab networks toward the end of the anti-Soviet war. After 9/11 the United States tried desperately to bring him over to its side, but Haqqani said he couldn't countenance a foreign presence on Afghan soil and once again took up arms, aided by his longtime benefactors in ISI. He is said to have introduced suicide bombing to Afghanistan, a tactic unheard of here before 2001. Western intelligence officials pin the blame for most of the spectacular attacks in recent memory—a massive car bomb that ripped apart the Indian embassy in July, for example—on the Haqqani network, not the Taliban.

The Haqqanis command the lion's share of foreign fighters operating in the country and tend to be even more extreme than their Taliban counterparts. Unlike most of the Taliban and Hizb-i-Islami, elements of the Haqqani network cooperate closely with Al Qaeda. Moreover, foreigners associated with the "Pakistani Taliban"—a completely separate organization that is at war with the Pakistani government—and various Pakistani guerrilla groups that were once active in Kashmir also filter across the border into Afghanistan, adding to a mix that has produced what one Western intelligence official calls a "rainbow coalition" that fights US troops. The foreign connection comes naturally, as the leadership of the three main wings of the insurgency is believed to be based across the border in Pakistan, and all insurgent groups are flush with funds from wealthy Arab donors and benefit from ISI training.

But the Afghan rebellion is mostly a homegrown affair. Foreign fighters, especially Al Qaeda, have little ideological influence on most of the insurgency, and Afghans keep their distance from such outsiders. "Sometimes groups of foreigners speaking different languages walk past," Ghazni resident Fazel Wali recalled. "We never talk to them, and they don't talk to us."

Al Qaeda's vision of global jihad doesn't resonate in the rugged highlands and windswept deserts of southern Afghanistan. Instead, the major concern throughout much of the country is intensely local: personal safety. In a world of endless war, with a predatory government, roving bandits and Hellfire missiles, support goes to those who can bring security. In recent months, one of the most dangerous activities in Afghanistan has also been one of its most celebratory: the large, festive wedding parties that Afghans love so much. American forces bombed such a party in July, killing forty-seven. Then, in November, warplanes hit another wedding party, killing around forty. A couple of weeks later they hit an engagement party, killing three.

"We are starting to think that we shouldn't go out in large numbers or have public weddings," Ghazni resident Abdullah Wali told me. Wali lives in a district of Ghazni where the insurgents have outlawed music and dance at such wedding parties. It's an austere life, but that doesn't stop Wali from wanting the Taliban back in power. Bland weddings, it seems, are better than no weddings at all. ■

# The Battle for Human Rights

## A clash of visions between North and South.

### by BARBARA CROSSETTE

There was a lot of self-congratulation in the United States and Europe in the 1990s over a post-Communist new world order marked by a global stampede to democracy and, by implication, a wide embrace of traditional Western concepts of civil and political rights. There is certainly a new world order. But it is not the one many predicted.

The global majority of governments—those of developing and transitional nations—may have embraced more open elections and other paraphernalia of democracy, but their understanding of human rights continues to diverge from the Western (or, now, Northern) model, which emphasizes political and civil liberties. In much of the global South—and for a mixture of reasons, not all of them noble in Northern eyes—there is a strong argument that top priority should go to development issues, to economic and social rights. The luxury of governance can come later.

On human rights, a bellwether area in international affairs, the opinions and strength of the global South will pose a considerable diplomatic challenge to European and North American governments and human rights organizations in the years ahead—a challenge for which US diplomacy is least

MARTIAL TREZZINI/AP

Louise Arbour, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, speaking in Geneva

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prepared. There is no official American participation in recently created institutions that are building new norms in international law and human rights, notably the International Criminal Court and the United Nations Human Rights Council.

December 10, the sixtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is a time to take stock and engage in a search for common ground with the twenty-first century's global majority. It serves no good purpose to trash the UN's human rights apparatus and the new Human Rights Council, an intergovernmental body dominated by blocs of nations often unfriendly to the United States (which is boycotting it). That has been the policy of the Bush administration and pro-Israeli groups, among others. Nor does it make much sense to assume, as many liberals do with a justified sense of chagrin, that the current American human rights record is too embarrassing to allow credible participation in any international human rights body. Solid, persuasive diplomatic work needs to be done and, yes, maybe some philosophical compromises made. Multicultural America should be at the forefront of the debate. Instead, the USA is MIA.

Some history: in 1941, when President Franklin Roosevelt went to Congress to propose the lend-lease agreement to aid European allies under siege by Nazi Germany, he said four freedoms must prevail in the world. These he described as freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his or her own way, freedom from want and freedom from fear. At that moment in history he defined the last of those as a freedom from aggression anywhere in the world.

Developing nations intent on promoting economic and social rights have increasing confidence in their ability to shape international debate.

With the persistence of Eleanor Roosevelt, whose work shaped the Universal Declaration of Human Rights seven years later, the president's four freedoms were incorporated into the declaration—and expanded. Freedom from want was fleshed out considerably to cover rights to education and "a standard of living adequate for health and well-being…including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood."

Louise Arbour, the UN high commissioner for human rights from 2004 to '08, took up the story from there in a conversation in June as she was about to leave office. She said that almost from the start a split existed between political and economic rights. It has widened. "Probably one of the existential issues in international human rights currently is the rise of cultural relativism and a pushback against the concept of universality," Arbour said. "It's coming loud and clear from the many who claim, not entirely correctly but credibly in their own constituencies, that human rights is a Western concept—not only that it is a Western ideological and political concept but that coincidentally it serves a lot of political and economic interests of the West. Those who put it in the most egregious fashion will say it is a neocolonialism—the West having found another way to impose its sense of superiority."

Arbour holds the West responsible for "perverting" the concept of universality. "The West, and the United States in particular, has never embraced freedom from want as a right," Arbour said. "It has been the champion of civil liberties—of freedom from fear—but freedom from want was meant to be achieved by a healthy marketplace…not a place for governments to play too large a role. The developing countries—and whether they are doing that in bad faith or good faith is not for me to pass judgment—are doing exactly the opposite. They claim at least to be very interested in freedom from want and that freedom from fear would look after itself if their populations were not starving. These are very profound clashes of vision."

The traditional democracies, rooted in ancient Mediterranean and modern European cultures, are in the minority now, and that minority will continue to shrink during this century. In understanding rights, as in regulating trade or the migration of people, what used to be called the West can only marginalize itself more by failing to listen to the rest. Political and civil rights are obviously worth promoting, but scores of governments need to be persuaded, and beleaguered advocates of civil and political rights in developing nations need support in international forums.

Developing nations intent on promoting the equivalence of economic and social rights have increasing confidence and experience in shaping international debate. They have legitimate arguments about priorities for the poorest countries, and they have been getting support from the new high commissioner for human rights, Navanethem Pillay of South Africa. When she took office in September, she said in her first speech to the Human Rights Council that the Universal Declaration's comprehensive vision of human rights had yet to be achieved. "It contemplates a world with the full realization of civil-political, economic, social and cultural rights without distinction," she said.

When the Human Rights Council, established in 2006 on the ruins of the discredited Commission on Human Rights, completed its ninth regular session this fall, its decisions reflected the majority agenda. But they also showed that democracies do not necessarily vote together across a North-South divide. India, Indonesia and South Africa, for example, join a pro-South majority consistently. Canada, which rarely gets the credit it deserves for its hard and effective work at the UN, is active in supporting democracy and universal rights, joining the European Union or acting alone in demanding open votes when others want the anonymity of consensus.

Arbour said that when the Human Rights Council was created, she urged democracies of both North and South, and such cosmopolitan groups as the Commonwealth or the Francophone countries, to field strong caucuses in the council to weaken the cohesion of self-serving and often tunnel-visioned regional blocs. Those on the forty-seven-member council often use their seats and regional solidarity cynically, more to cover up atrocities and shield neighbors than to expose them. Her advice was ignored, except by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which she described as "fixated" on the Middle East, and has coalesced solidly around its agenda in that region.

In its final report in September, the council ranked as human rights issues the dumping of toxic waste in developing nations, unfettered rights for migrants, the needs of the African diaspora, the right to development and a vaguely defined "international solidarity" for nations in adversity. Japan, South Korea and the Europeans opposed that last measure, saying that the first responsibility to aid and protect people lay with their own governments, and that this was not the job of an "international community." China, Chile and India, among others in the majority, voted for it. How it would be applied is anyone's guess. The report also reaffirmed the right to food in light of the food-price crisis. (Nepal's supreme court recently cited the right to food when it ordered help for needy rural areas.)

In October, a WorldPublicOpinion.org poll found that Americans support economic and social rights, notably the right to food, healthcare and education, and at least three-quarters of those surveyed (Democrats and Republicans) said that the government should be responsible for meeting those needs among its own citizens. That puts them more in line with developing nations than with the US government. The poll findings also noted that "the American public largely concurs with the principles presented in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

On the international stage, getting the US government officially back into play on human rights at the UN, and fielding skilled diplomats to open meaningful dialogue, would seem top priorities of the new US administration. It would be a smart step toward rebuilding American credibility and would also be important in shaping international discussion on human rights as they might be most broadly understood.

"If the Americans are present or absent on any issue anywhere on earth, it makes a difference," Arbour said. "So their indifference—it ranges from indifference to hostility—to the Human Rights Council of course has tremendous impact. Inside, they would have had a more positive influence." ■

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# Letters

*(continued from page 2)*

its most evil, and it worked! It will always work as long as "faith" remains more important than knowledge or even civility to the 52 percent of Californians who unbridled their homophobia on November 4 and the out-of-state Christers who felt compelled to contribute money to keep us queers from gettin' too uppity.

W.H. Trout

San Francisco

It is interesting that fundamentalist Christians are busy "defending" marriage. Early Christians were exhorted not to marry because marriage gave a man control of his children and wife and their property. Paul found this limited the ability to convert, since children had to have the consent of the father in their activities. By denying the validity of the family, Paul and the early Christians undermined Roman civil authority. As an anthropologist and religious scholar I have written on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the evolution of Scripture. The nature and the composition of the family are not part of that body of literature. Later additions were made to satisfy the needs of people.

Niccolo Caldararo

Lancaster, Calif.

At 18, I was an airman in the Navy. I fought for freedom for every American. I signed up to give my life for this great country. Now I wish I could take my patriotism back. It is time for my country to include me in freedom for all Americans. I am so disturbed that a country that has opened its doors to people from all different cultures, religions and ethnic groups has turned its back on my rights and the rights of other Americans. The right to choose to marry whom I love. The right for all Americans who are consenting adults to choose whom they love. I would have died serving this country, and I will die fighting those I once served to not be treated as a second-class citizen.

Rochelle Price

## All Aboard the Green Train!

Circleville, W.Va.

Robert Pollin's "How to End the Recession" [Nov. 24] is excellent but doesn't go far enough. Among his proposals for public works, he suggests help to public transportation. If we are to be green, we need more. We need to shift from our automobile culture to a rail culture. Sure, we should repair the auto infrastructure. But it's more important to make a start on reaping the global warming, economic, energy, land-use and quality-of-life benefits of a rail culture.

Let's build a Supertrain that runs from Boston to Dallas via New York, Philly, Baltimore, DC, Charlotte, Atlanta, Birmingham/Montgomery, Jackson and Shreveport. At an average 200 mph, a Supertrain would make the entire Boston–Dallas run in eleven hours, burn no carbon fuel and use much less energy than airliners or cars. Need one add that the trip would be much more comfortable than the alternatives?

Half the route would pass through the heart of the red states and serve as a permanent advertisement for the uses of government. And let's build a Supermetro. DC would be a good site. The current Metro is a commuter railroad that brings workers from the suburbs to the center and back. But most workers commute from one suburb to another and are stuck in their cars, facing the horrors of the Beltway.

A Supermetro would add three rings to the system, perhaps at four, eight and twelve miles from the center. With this, the Metro would become a system for escaping the Beltway and cars, rather than for escaping the inner metropolitan area. It would be a system for the ascendancy of urban life. The moon shot was JFK's signature project. A Supertrain/Supermetro could be Obama's. As Pollin says, "This is no time to be timid."

Al Shelly

## Corrections—Names & Numbers

In Sean Penn's "Conversations With Chávez and Castro" (Dec. 15), Juan Almeida's name was misspelled.

In Nick Turse's "A My Lai a Month" (Dec. 1), the caliber of rockets fired from helicopters was 2.75 *inches*, not millimeters.

In Marcela Valdes's "Alone Among the Ghosts" (Dec. 8), the "n" was dropped from Carlos Monsiváis's last name.

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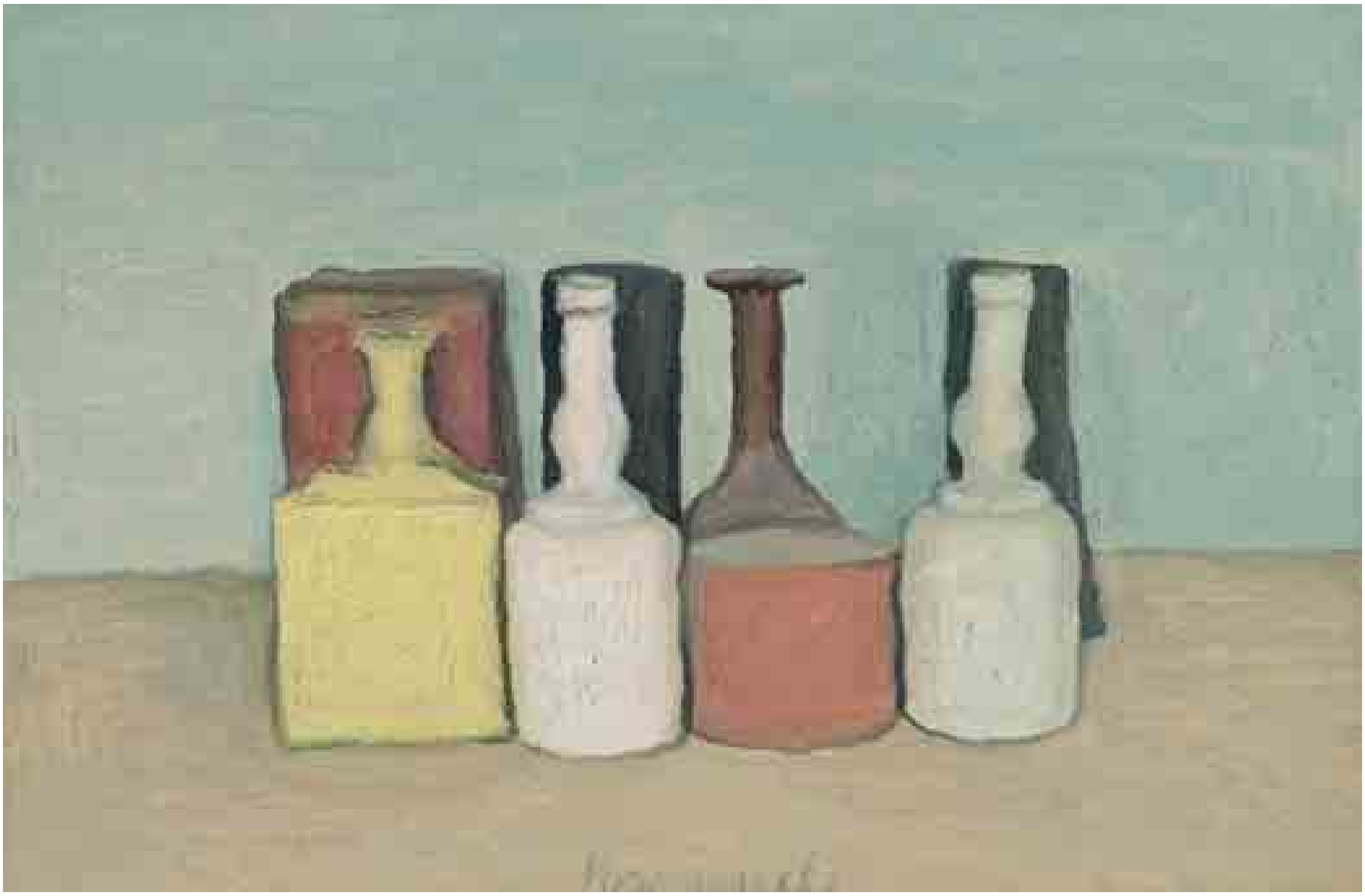

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*Natura morta*, 1956

## Jarring Bottles

### by ARTHUR C. DANTO

The paintings of Giorgio Morandi express an apparent humility of means underwritten by a life of seemingly total dedication to art. His works are searching, unassuming and small, 30 by 40 centimeters being the average dimensions of a canvas. They are imbued with a muted passion and appear to be unconcerned with anything beyond their manifest subject: simple houses set in dull landscapes or still lifes composed of the most ordinary household objects, bottles chiefly, but also nondescript boxes, carefully placed and painted with a diffident touch in matte pinks, pale yellows, pistachio and colors that have no name—the color of putty, say, or baked unglazed clay. Once he settled into his mature style, Morandi invariably titled his painting *Natura morta* if it was a still life or *Paesaggio* if it was a landscape. One irresistible *Natura morta*, painted in 1953, depicts five objects arranged in two rows. The front row contains a box painted with three wide horizontal stripes of white and muddy brown, a buttery yellow box and a grayish brown box, all rendered in slightly distorted perspective. The striped box and the yellow box occlude a black, handleless cup and an ornamental glass carafe with a wide lip and twisted neck. The group, which stands in a washed-out background of indeterminate color, casts a collective shadow to the right. The gray box seems almost to be shoving the yellow box at its side, exerting such a strong force that it distorts the edge where their tops meet.

Like this *Natura morta*, each of Morandi's paintings suggests a fresh return to the basics of art, undistracted by passions, erotic or political. Born in 1890, Morandi spent most of his life in Bologna, Italy, where he taught art and lived as a bachelor in an apartment with his mother (she died in 1950) and his three unmarried sisters. In Janet Abramowicz's essential book *Giorgio Morandi: The Art of Silence*, there is an exceedingly moving photograph of the artist's bedroom, which doubled as his studio. A lumpy, skimpy bed is placed against a wall, and a few of Morandi's small framed pictures are hung here and there above it. On the adjoining wall are some shelves holding flasks, compotes, jars, saucers, pitchers and boxes—the kind of bric-a-brac that one might find in this country at yard sales in tidy hardscrabble neighborhoods. Whatever there is to say about Morandi's exemplary life can also be said about his paintings: they are honest, quiet and modest, a reproach to the distracted, uncertain lives of the rest of us. San Giorgio of the Table Top!

How can small paintings of a few simple

bottles and boxes be so irresistible? Why did Morandi return to these objects over and over, and without the gloss of routine ever dulling his art? The literature about Morandi almost universally answers these questions with recourse to two metaphors: his pictures are poems in paint, or they are studies in stillness and silence. Painting is silent by default, but paintings of silence are another matter. *Ut pictura poesis*—“as is painting, so is poetry”—was a notion first articulated by Horace. But if poetry is what we adore in Morandi, what is the poetry specific to painting? If one were to subtract the meaning from poetry, leaving only the music, then that which corresponds to the music would be what remains when meaning is subtracted from painting. If the nature of that substance could be divined, then perhaps the mystery of Morandi’s work could be solved. Of course, we could set aside such conundrums and just enjoy the Morandi retrospective (the first in the United States) currently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (through December 14), especially the last, long part of it, where Morandi’s signature style quietly asserts itself and each work is a minor revelation. But a critic has certain responsibilities.

Morandi’s household objects are dynamic and aggressive: their geometry is up for grabs.

Peter Schjeldahl has written of how the painter Vija Celmins, upon first seeing a Morandi still life in 1961, was struck by the way the objects seemed to be fighting for one another’s space. For me, Morandi’s objects are like people squeezing between others in the subway, making room for themselves at their neighbors’ expense. Morandi’s still lifes are scenes of dampened violence, and the compositions closest to them, in terms of feeling and tone, are those dense groupings of abstract forms in Philip Guston’s paintings of the mid-1960s, where one too many objects are crowded into a clotted space when there is plenty of empty room elsewhere on the canvas, so that the array seems to quiver and dilate.

Morandi’s still lifes are not that still: they are not Platonic placements of rigid geometrical bodies. The components interact and jostle, exerting pressure on one another rather than sitting quietly at rest. One begins to wonder if an allegory is being enacted. The artist Robert Irwin speaks of Morandi as dealing with the “time and space relationships within the painting per se.” What can he mean by that? Where does time come into these paintings, and how? I have read that Morandi drew chalk circles around the bases of his objects, so that he would know where to place them, as if he were choreographing a sequence and the paintings implied internal narratives. I sometimes think that the same bottle may occupy two—or even three—spaces in a painting. Of course, there could be two bottles of the same shape and size. But what if there is one bottle that occupies two different spots in the same composition? Then the composition would have a history of displacement. Morandi’s compositions certainly have a history of simultaneity. It is striking that the shadows in his paintings go this way and that, as if there were different sources of light, or as though the bottles were sundials casting shadows made at the different times of day they were painted. In any case, Morandi’s compositions of humble household objects placed on a table are not dreamy. They are something more dynamic and aggressive; their physics and geometry are up for grabs.

Morandi was educated at the Accademia di Belle Arti in his native city. Its curriculum had changed little since it was established by the Carracci brothers, Agostino and Annibale, and their cousin Ludovico in the late sixteenth century. The Carraccis concentrated on life drawing, and they brought Italian painting out of the artificial and arch complexity of the high Mannerist style into what came to be known as the Baroque. It was a time of immense opportunity for artists who could create convincing narrative representations of the Christian epic featuring the suffering of Christ and his followers. The Bolognese School commanded a near monopoly over the images that decorated the Roman churches of the Counter-Reformation, which were expressly designed to strengthen the Catholic faith. In the Carracci atelier, painters were taught that their depictions of the human body wracked by pain and agony had to be so convincing that worshipers would bond with the martyrs they saw portrayed on the walls.

Morandi entered the Accademia in 1907, the year Picasso painted *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon*. Two years later the poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti hectored his Italian contemporaries in the pages of the French daily *Le Figaro*. “We want to demolish museums and libraries,” Marinetti shouted in his Futurist Manifesto. “We declare that the splendor of the world has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed. A racing automobile with its bonnet adorned with great tubes like serpents with explosive breath…a roaring motor car which seems to run on machine-gun fire, is more beautiful than the Victory of Samothrace.” In 1913, recently graduated from the Accademia, Morandi was curious enough about Futurism to travel to Florence to see the first exposition of Futurist painting (which had opened at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery in Paris in February 1912). The paintings experimented with representing the speed and violence of modern life as simultaneously perceived and remembered. In his special theory of relativity, Einstein talked about a light flashing on a railroad car. How much more exciting for the Futurists if a revolver were fired from a passing train!

Like all painting academies since the seventeenth century, the Accademia enforced a hierarchy in which history painting was considered the most demanding and prestigious of genres. Still life was so off the scale of respectability that it was an act of insurrection to take it up. I would conjecture that Morandi gravitated to still life, in which he started to work regularly around 1915, because it was the genre in which he could experiment most freely, manipulating bottles and jars—the very bric-a-brac that the Futurists rejected as being “filthy and worm-ridden and corroded by time”—to investigate the questions regarding time and space that the Futurists lobbed like so many bombs. Obviously, moving a bottle from one place to another in a small still life can scarcely be considered a militant act. Yet for all its modesty, the gesture introduces a certain dynamism into art. It’s telling that Morandi loathed the staid work of Baroque masters, most particularly Guido Reni, a painter of cloying saints, typically female, whose welling large eyes gazed raptly heavenward. Reni was the artistic counterpart to the syrupy liqueurs relished by Italians of an earlier generation. At the Met exhibition I bumped into Milton Glaser, who studied etching with Morandi. Glaser recalled looking at some Reni paintings with Morandi, who told him that Reni excelled at painting toes. It’s an intriguing remark, since it reveals an irony that the paintings would not have led one to expect: toes as the seat of the soul.

Morandi was drafted into the Italian infantry in 1915 but was soon discharged as being psychologically unfit for military service. During his convalescence he en-

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countered the work of Giorgio de Chirico and Carlo Carrà, both of whom had turned their backs on Futurism and had begun to develop what they called *pittura metafisica*, which used ordinary objects as windows into dimensions of reality hidden from consciousness. Discarding Futurism's speedolatry, de Chirico and Carrà made paintings of quiet, hauntingly vacant piazzas under relentless sunlight, creating a mood that would later be absorbed into Surrealism. The two men were inspired by Italian cities—in de Chirico's case, Turin, with its arcaded streets and heavy shadows. (De Chirico studied philosophy, particularly Nietzsche, who had found Turin hospitable, though it was there, in the Piazza Carlo Alberto, that he suffered a complete nervous breakdown.) In *pittura metafisica*, Morandi encountered a vision in which disparate mundane objects in emptied spaces evoke something dreamlike and allusive.

Morandi's *Bottles and Fruit Dish [Still Life]*, 1916, features three banal objects—a fluted fruit dish and a carafe, both with helical patterns, and a tall, slender flask shaped like a truncated cone. All three objects seem to be made of opalescent glass; they are ghostly presences in a mysterious space. As a trio, they suggest a larger undisclosed meaning. The painting, which is considered an important contribution to *pittura metafisica*, today seems inconspicuous, a lesson in the way paintings that changed history fade into an exhibition when the history has been forgotten. Perhaps that's a measure of how drastically our sense of the commonplace has been transfigured by a certain iconic array of thirty-two Campbell's soup cans. Andy Warhol unveiled that work in 1962. Morandi died two years later.

Futurism and metaphysics are ideological antonyms to the whatness and whereness into which Morandi comfortably settled. Futuristic speed is hardly a value if what one needs for a human life is in the here and now; the emptiness of metaphysical painting is too thin for human habitation. In contemplating the achievement of Morandi's paintings, I can't help thinking of Jane Austen's wry characterization of her novels in a letter to her nephew James Edward Austen, also a writer: "What should I do with your strong, manly, spirited Sketches, full of Variety & Glow?—How could I possibly join them on to the little bit (two Inches wide) of Ivory on which I work with so fine a Brush, as produces little effect after much labour?" The bombast and posturing of the Futurists could not elbow themselves into the fine, dynamic space that Morandi made his own—an adventure deeply different from what most still life aspires to. ■

# Trilling's Sandbags

### by STEFAN COLLINI

**The Liberal Imagination**
*Essays on Literature and Society.*
By Lionel Trilling.
New York Review Books. 303 pp. $15.95.

**The Journey Abandoned**
*The Unfinished Novel.*
By Lionel Trilling.
Edited by Geraldine Murphy.
Columbia. 167 pp. $26.95.

There is, for many of us, something vaguely oppressive about the thought of having to reread Lionel Trilling now. His elegant periods, always in danger of sliding into sonorousness; his confident, familiar invocation of the great names of modern European thought and literature; his cultivated superiority to all that might be tainted by provincialism or pragmatism, which, he concedes with the stoical air of the dutiful mourner at a funeral, amounts to most of American life; and above all, that elusive but pervasive note that runs through his prose—the note of a mind taking stock of its resources and finding that they are, despite their fragility, adequate to its tasks. We can't help feeling that we should be improved by reading Trilling, and this feeling itself is inevitably oppressive.

The previous paragraph, as will have been evident to those familiar with Trilling's writing, deliberately blends characterization with homage and pastiche. His liberal use of the first-person plural to suggest a community of the like-minded was a much criticized mannerism, as was his unembarrassed recourse to cultural name-dropping as a substitute for argument. Then there was the too ready suggestion of rereading, signaling his great storehouse of literary experience. And finally, there was the characteristic structure of a Trilling sentence, with the clauses queuing up to make their restraining or amplifying comment on their predecessors. The blending of homage and pastiche in my tribute may be expressive of the ambivalence Trilling excites. We, I might imitatively say, admire him; we may even sense that we need him; yet it remains true that we have ever so slightly to brace ourselves for a prolonged spell in his company. Reading him keeps us up to the mark, but we can't help but be aware that the mark is set rather higher than we are used to.

All this may seem puzzling to those for whom Trilling is little more than a name, especially those who have grown up since his death, in 1975. It may be hard to understand why he was, a couple of generations ago, one of academia's most cherished culture heroes, one of the few saints of modern literary criticism. It may be harder still to make the case for why Trilling, in his antique, mannered way, might matter now. But if so, there can be few better places to start than with a reconsideration of his most celebrated book, *The Liberal Imagination* (first published in 1950), reissued with a brief, deft introduction by Louis Menand, thought by some to come as near as anyone can to being Trilling's successor today.

The scale of the book's success on first publication seems scarcely credible today. It belonged, after all, to a genre most present-day publishers shun as utterly unsalable. It was a collection of essays; the essays had all been previously published in some form; and perhaps most unpromising of all, they were essays in literary criticism. Yet the hardcover sold an initial 70,000 copies, and then the paperback a further 100,000. Menand remarks that the volume "made literary criticism matter to people who were not literary critics," which is true enough but may understate its reach. A similar work that sold, say, 20,000 copies would already be doing that. *The Liberal Imagination* made Trilling's version of literary criticism matter to a readership that was in search of something more than criticism, perhaps more than literature itself. His essays spoke to a cultural or political moment in a way that is now hard to reconstruct and surely impossible to repeat. But why does it seem unimaginable that any work by a literary critic might have a similar impact now? Has "the culture" changed too much? Has "literary criticism"? Have "we"?

Trilling, we should begin by remembering, was a native of a peculiar and distinctive territory just off the Eastern Seaboard of the United States. Born in New York in 1905 to first-generation Jewish immigrants, he spent almost his entire life in Manhattan and was as closely identified with the peculiar hot-

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*Stefan Collini, the author of* Common Reading: Critics, Historians, Publics, *is a professor of intellectual history and English literature at Cambridge University.*

house intellectual life of that skinny island as any avatars of Bloomsbury or the Latin Quarter ever were with that of their own geographically circumscribed milieus. He was Columbia, man and boy, and perhaps no figure better represented that university in its heyday in the first couple of decades after 1945. But he was also, from his earliest adult years, a contributor to the serious end of the literary and intellectual journalism that has thrived so abundantly in that fertile cultural soil. In his early 20s, exploring his Jewishness, he wrote for *The Menorah Journal*; in his early 30s, sharing in a broader political radicalism, he became a stalwart of *Partisan Review* (once it had sloughed off its initial Stalinist identity); by his early 40s, cultivating his critical voice, he was one of the contributors most sought after by all the leading journals of opinion, including *The Nation*, as well as by the premier literary-critical journals like *The Kenyon Review*. The sixteen essays collected in *The Liberal Imagination* were mostly revised versions of pieces that had appeared in these last three periodicals, all initially published between 1940 and 1949.

It was during that decade that Trilling secured his academic career and began to build a scholarly as well as literary-journalistic reputation. In the late 1920s and right through the '30s, he had struggled to make ends meet with a series of temporary or part-time appointments, held back by the economic circumstances of the Depression, his failure to finish his PhD and his being Jewish. But in 1938 he finally completed the dissertation, and its publication in 1939 as *Matthew Arnold* brought immediate recognition as well as appointment as an assistant professor (at 34). Trilling became the first Jew to obtain a permanent position in Columbia's English department, and thereafter his promotion was relatively rapid. A short book on E.M. Forster followed in 1943; the choice of Arnold and Forster as subjects indicated deeper intellectual and political affinities as well as a lifelong Anglophilia.

Trilling brought academic authority to his forays into literary journalism, though his learning was by no means confined to English literature. The names he invokes so freely in his essays tend to be continental European more often than English, and many of them were not writers of "literature" in any narrow sense. In common with others of that loose grouping known as the New York Intellectuals (such as Philip Rahv, Clement Greenberg and, slightly later, Irving Howe), Trilling drew upon Romantic and post-Romantic literature and thought, and especially his intense engagement with European Modernism, in his efforts to shame parochial Americans and redress the narrowness of radical politics. His range, as well as his name-dropping, are most strikingly illustrated by the opening pages of the essay in *The Liberal Imagination* titled "Freud and Literature." By the second page there has already been mention of Diderot, Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Goethe and Shaw; the next page brings Rousseau, Blake, Wordsworth, Burke, Coleridge, Arnold and Schiller; followed on the next by Mill, Shelley, Schlegel, Sand, Ibsen, Tieck and Stendhal; and quite soon thereafter by Dostoyevsky, Poe, Baudelaire, Nerval, Rimbaud, Proust, Eliot, Kafka, Mann and Joyce. Most of his essays do not attempt to mass the cultural cavalry on this scale, but his writing always implies that he is on familiar terms with the great names of the Old World who could be called upon to make up for the failings of the New.

Trilling explains in his "Preface" that his essays are linked by their concern with "the ideas of what we loosely call liberalism, especially the relation of these ideas to literature." Notoriously, he nowhere defines what he means by his rather idiosyncratic use of "liberalism." Occasionally, he suggests a lineage stretching back to Bentham and Mill; more frequently he associates the term with the broadly radical or progressive political impulse prominent in American life in the 1930s and into the '40s; later he would claim that he had chiefly had in mind the fashionable enthusiasm for Stalinism. Perhaps his most interesting, as well as illuminating, comment on the subject comes in his essay, "The Function of the Little Magazine"; he appears to be glossing his sense of "liberalism" when he writes: "Our educated class has a ready if mild suspiciousness of the profit motive, a belief in progress, science, social legislation, planning, and international cooperation, perhaps especially where Russia is in question."

However, as the cumulative effect of the essays comes to be felt, the target expands until it seems to be the narrowness of practically any politics that is being chided and corrected. Trilling takes his place in the long line of cultural critics, Arnold pre-eminent among them, but stretching from Coleridge and Carlyle to Eliot and Leavis (to cite only some of the most obvious names), who have sought in literature an antidote to the mechanical and instrumental tendencies of political and economic reason—literature understood as (in Trilling's much-quoted phrase) "the human activity that takes the fullest and most precise ac-

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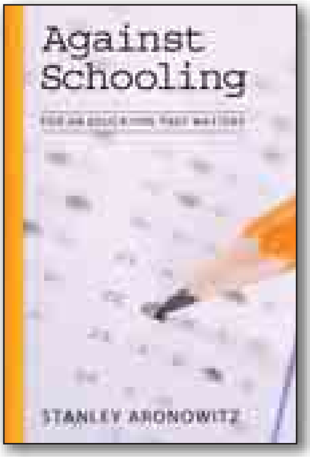

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count of variousness, possibility, complexity, and difficulty." The character (and presumably much of the impact) of *The Liberal Imagination* comes from his use of the genre of the critical essay to dramatize this conflict and to gesture toward some of the ways our sense of "variousness, possibility, complexity, and difficulty" is extended and given content by great writers, above all by the novelists of the previous 150 years.

In these essays Trilling writes as a literary critic, but so much of what he writes is not literary criticism, at least not in any of the stricter forms of that activity made familiar by Eliot, Empson and the New Critics. The essay in the collection that is sometimes referred to as Trilling's most extended exercise in close reading, on Wordsworth's "Immortality Ode," is still far from being any kind of New Critical exercise in the detection of tensions and paradoxes in the verbal texture of the poem. Its energies are focused on the attempt to identify and translate "what the poem says," and so even this, his most purely exegetical essay, concludes by telling us that the "Immortality Ode" is about "something common to us all, the development of the sense of reality." Even here, and a fortiori in the more discursive essays, literary criticism serves the purposes of moral instruction. More generally, it is striking how little he quotes compared with most critics; nor does he have a great deal to say about the formal properties of particular literary works. "The moral life" is really Trilling's home turf. Quite a lot of his writing is a kind of natural history of the moral life, a characteristic that comes most clearly into view in his last book, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (1972).

Trilling's use of literature for the purposes of moral pedagogy, and the drawbacks of such an exercise, are notably illustrated in his celebrated essay on Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima*. The novel is not normally regarded as one of James's finest, and Trilling does not sufficiently attend to the details to be likely to convert any resistant reader to a more positive view. Yet he manages to deploy aspects of James's tale to underwrite a probing, at times moving, meditation on the moral or human limitations likely to attend upon any overzealous commitment to radical political change. The novel might be said to dramatize—or at least, more creakingly, to stage—the conflict between the claims of culture and social justice, and its portrait of those who pursue the latter by extreme (anarchist) means is far from flattering. Tough-minded progressives scorned the book accordingly as an example of the inherently reactionary tendency of James's elaborate filigree work and his lack of attention to the "realities" of social and political conditions. In his essay, Trilling triumphantly turns the charge of "unrealism" on its head. The novel, he argues, provides "a brilliantly precise representation of social actuality." But it does more than this, and more (and other) than its radical critics ever do: it understands and captures the essence of tragedy, the irresolvable conflict of fundamental values. This he calls, in a favored phrase, "moral realism." It is "the informing spirit of *The Princess Casamassima* and it yields a kind of social and political knowledge which is hard to come by." It is not clear that this rather flawed James novel is actually as good as Trilling needs it to be to sustain his larger case, and this is not the only instance where one wonders whether Trilling's magnificent moral edifice has not been built on rather shaky literary foundations. Nonetheless, the essay, moving out from literary criticism, becomes a powerful secular sermon.

Writing that is this high-toned is also high-risk. At times Trilling's characteristic emphasis on ethical education can seem out of proportion to the literary subject matter, banging the drum too loudly in order to disguise the lack of rewarding melody. Consider, for example, his explanation of why *Huckleberry Finn* is a "subversive" book: "No one who reads thoughtfully the dialectic of Huck's great moral crisis will ever again be wholly able to accept without some question and some irony the assumptions of the respectable morality by which he lives, nor will ever again be certain that what he considers the clear dictates of moral reason are not merely the engrained customary beliefs of his time and place." One response to this might be to say that anyone capable of this kind of "thoughtful" reading is not likely to be a prisoner of social convention in the first place, and vice versa. The passage risks both patronizing the imagined reader and imputing an unrealistic power to Twain's book. In such passages, the adjective "moral" appears overworked, now indicating the merely conventional social codes, now referring to the wider human vision offered by the critic.

The half-dozen best pieces in the volume are among Trilling's most admired writings, and justly so: "Reality in America," "The Princess Casamassima," "Huckleberry Finn," "Manners, Morals, and the Novel," "The Kinsey Report," "The Meaning of a Literary Idea"—these are all essays that stay in the reader's mind and work there more fruitfully than do whole books by most other critics. But if, to recommend him to a new generation of readers, one wanted to take a representative example of Trilling at work, one could hardly do better than the rather slighter essay on F. Scott Fitzgerald, the bulk of which appeared as a review in *The Nation* in 1945.

Fitzgerald may at first seem a surprising enthusiasm, but the basis for it becomes clear in the first paragraph, in which Trilling invites us to admire "the moral force of the poise and fortitude which marked Fitzgerald's mind." The essay proves to be yet another example of Trilling's propensity to use literary criticism as a vehicle for ethical reflection. Fitzgerald, we are told, "really had but little impulse to blame, which is the more remarkable because our culture peculiarly honors the act of blaming, which it takes as the sign of virtue and intellect." A casual reading of this sentence might suggest the perspective of a relaxed post-Freudian moralist, pardoning all because understanding all; but it is in fact Trilling who, characteristically, is adopting the more strenuous position. Real "virtue and intellect," he is suggesting, require something at once more discriminating and less immediately gratifying than the slack disposition to confirm one's self-righteousness by so readily apportioning blame.

When he goes on to begin a sentence with such an iteration of self-evidence as "In the equipment of the moralist and therefore in the equipment of the novelist," we know we are on home ground. Authoritative asides along the way reinforce the sense that we are in a rhetorical universe not afraid of wise saws and sententiousness: "The form, that is, is not the result of careful 'plotting'—the form of a good novel never is," or "What underlies all success in poetry…is the poet's voice." Nor is there any shrinking from the high notes in his praise of the "voice" of Fitzgerald the novelist: "It is characteristically modest, yet it has in it, without apology or self-consciousness, a largeness, even a stateliness, which derives from Fitzgerald's connection with tradition and with mind, from his sense of what has been done before and the demands which this past accomplishment makes." Trilling's own "voice" was perhaps neither so modest nor so free from self-consciousness, but otherwise the element of identification is surely clear. When, having quoted a longish passage, he says that it exemplifies "the habitual music of Fitzgerald's seriousness," the warmth of the commendation is palpable. But Trilling's prose also incorporates a recurring note of self-criticism: "I am aware that I have involved Fitzgerald with a great many great names," he writes at one point, catching himself, and changes the register. This is rather like what Arnold called Burke's "return upon himself," and such arrests are part of the appeal of Trilling's writing, a style expressive of his balanced, dialectical mind.

Later scholars have offered various explanations for the remarkable success of *The Liberal Imagination*. These explanations have included: Trilling's subtle blending of the authority of the academic scholar with the address of the freelance critic; the stage reached in the growth of an educated reading public not yet cut off from the accelerating specialisms of the universities; the cold war context in which even subtle or disguised critiques of Stalinism were assured of a ready welcome; the peculiar position of the New York Intellectuals in the cultural demography of the United States in these years, at once outsiders who intellectually outranked most insiders and insiders claiming the license of outsiders. But if for a moment we take an even wider view and consider the book's success in an international perspective, it is the prestige of literary criticism in these years, certainly in the United States and Britain, that seems such a remarkable historical phenomenon. What Randall Jarrell called "the Age of Criticism" may have stretched only from the late 1930s to the mid-'60s, at most—the decade after 1945 was its true heyday—but the activity enjoyed a remarkable standing among a bookish public eager to find guidance about life in the meditations of critics on irony in John Donne or self-realization in George Eliot, a public mostly not, or not yet, disposed to fret too much about the kinds of cultural homogeneity on which such acceptance of a narrow literary canon depended.

Reviewing *The Liberal Imagination* in *The Hudson Review* in 1950, R.W.B. Lewis shrewdly remarked that Trilling's "noble sadness" provided "sandbags for the will." The essays are marked, though not disfigured, by the pathos of stoicism, that slightly stagy bracing of the brow for a buffeting from an indifferent universe that had been raised to an art form by Arnold. In Trilling's sensibility, stoicism is the natural partner to tragedy, not the least of their value being the way they convict more cheerful or more optimistic sensibilities of existential shallowness. Another reviewer, Clifton Fadiman, writing in *The New Yorker*, spoke of the way Trilling rehabilitated "the Big Words that Hemingway's generation thought it had choked to death," and it's true that his readiness with terms like "love," "the imagination," "the will" and so on is one of the

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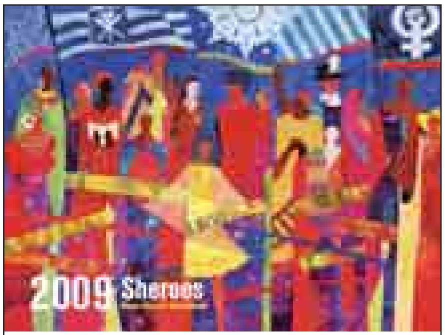

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things that gives Trilling’s prose an oddly archaic air. But the value that his work, early and late, speaks up for most convincingly is “intelligence” (he liked to quote, as have many since, the line of his Columbia teacher John Erskine on “the moral obligation to be intelligent”). In the 1930s and ’40s, with radical progressivism in the ascendant among the intellectuals of Trilling’s Manhattan, this entailed being a dissenter “from the orthodoxies of dissent.” But although he could be allergic to the coerciveness of intellectual or political fashion, his was never the facile and purely reactive identity of the “contrarian.” Rather, his critical essays enact the effort to see the topical and the transient through the optic of a rich, subtle cultural tradition that has attempted to take the measure of the divided and frustrated nature of human experience. The result is sometimes merely portentous—as when he says of the Kinsey report, with not quite enough self-irony, that “the best thing about the Report is the quality that makes us remember Lucretius”—but at its best his writing makes the critical essay seem like the genre in which a kind of wisdom is most naturally at home.

In scaling back expectations for politics, do we risk expecting too much of literature?

For most of his career, certainly its early decades, Trilling was reluctant to classify himself as a “critic” or, less appealing still, a “scholar”: the self-image he craved and nurtured, in the face of an increasingly discouraging lack of achievement, was “writer,” which meant, above all, “novelist.” By the mid-1940s he had published several short stories, including the much anthologized “Of This Time, of That Place,” and his one novel, *The Middle of the Journey* (1947). That book, essentially a “novel of ideas” about the demands of maturity in politics and personal life, received a rather grudging reception, with several reviewers opting for the predictable complaint that the heavy load of the “ideas” weighed down and eventually capsized the fragile narrative craft in which they were carried. Trilling never published another novel, and it has usually been assumed that the chilly reception of his firstborn deterred him from further efforts in the genre. But among his papers deposited at Columbia is the typescript of what seems to be the first third or so of an unfinished and untitled novel, apparently written shortly after he completed *The Middle of the Journey*. Geraldine Murphy has now edited this text for publication, giving it (alluding also to his wife Diana Trilling’s memoir of their shared lives, *The Beginning of the Journey*, published in 1994) the title *The Journey Abandoned*.

The 154 printed pages are full of interest, testifying to Trilling’s gifts as a social observer and recorder of the eddies and velleities of the inner life and to his difficulty in subduing his reflectiveness to the demands of adequately pacey and dramatic action. There are overtones of Forster and James in this story of the anxieties and temptations of the literary life—the expression of character through the niceties (and brutalities) of social exchange is one of its strengths. It is impossible to say what fate the completed novel might have assigned to its central protagonist—a variant on one of Trilling’s favored types, “the young man from the provinces”—but the indications are that, with the follow-up to *The Middle of the Journey*, Trilling was struggling with a less directly political working-out of such characteristic themes as the corruption of ambition and the betrayals of desire.

For that reason, the appearance of this fragment may seem to support the view that Trilling’s later career, with his fastidious disdain for the inevitable crudities of politics, signaled a move in an increasingly apolitical direction. Trilling clearly did become culturally more conservative, especially in reaction to the perceived excesses of the 1960s, but he surely remained too political an animal to countenance any aestheticist withdrawal. The obligation to be intelligent included being intelligent about politics, and he knew that a lofty disdain for the difficult business of managing the conditions of collective life was crassly unintelligent.

Some writers who invoke “complexity” are in practice as bleakly schematic as those they criticize. In their hands “complexity” just means “my simplicity rather than your simplicity.” But that is not the case with Trilling. There is enough ambivalence and conflict in him to make the movement of his mind naturally dialectical. Diana Trilling later spoke of “the grave energy” of her husband’s middle years, and that almost oxymoronic phrase nicely captures something about the stretched tension discernible not exactly “beneath” the polish of his Augustan periods but actually within them, preventing them from slipping into weakly mock-Augustan imitation. And this sense of him is deepened when we read in Diana Trilling’s memoir about his anxieties and depressions, his long, drawn-out but inconclusive analysis, and the difficulties this effortlessly polished writer sometimes had in writing anything at all. Trilling, it seems, was a divided character, as would perhaps have to have been partly true of someone from his background who had turned himself into a facsimile of a courtly English gentleman at home in the tweedy world of Ivy League English departments in the 1940s and ’50s. “The return of the repressed” would be an inaccurate as well as overdramatic figure to describe this tension, but Trilling’s prose benefits from those moments when a more bohemian, Greenwich Village voice threatens to disrupt the donnish calm of the Morningside Heights seminar room.

One anxiety that only rarely surfaces in these essays becomes more visible in his work in subsequent decades, the anxiety that, in drawing back from expecting too much from politics, we might end up expecting too much from literature. This is not quite the view commonly associated with the later Trilling—namely, that in installing the masterpieces of modern literature in the curriculum, we routinize them and deprive the experience of reading them of its personally disorienting intensity. It is, rather, a more interesting “return upon himself” in which he raises doubts about the efficacy of what he had once seemed most eagerly to propose. Perhaps Trilling the writer intermittently felt the need to rescue the anarchic energies of literature, the purposeless purposiveness of the aesthetic impulse, from the worthy ambitions of Trilling the moral pedagogue.

“Mind,” “culture,” “the moral life”—these Big Words make us a little uncomfortable nowadays, and we have difficulty using them other than in a knowing, allusive way. But they are the notes that make up the habitual music of Trilling’s seriousness. In allowing him the last word, I choose a passage from his great essay “Manners, Morals, and the Novel” in which he reaches for the highest of high notes and holds it, unwaveringly, for just long enough: “Some paradox of our natures leads us, when once we have made our fellow men the objects of our enlightened interest, to go on to make them the objects of our pity, then of our wisdom, ultimately of our coercion. It is to prevent this corruption, the most ironic and tragic that man knows, that we stand in need of the moral realism which is the product of the free play of the moral imagination.” ■

PHIL BRAY/FOCUS FEATURES

Sean Penn as Harvey Milk in *Milk*

# Epic Moments

### by STUART KLAWANS

Although it comes into theaters as "a Gus Van Sant film," *Milk* might be seen as the work not of one person but of tens of thousands. The director, however prominent, would count only among the most recent, along with Sean Penn, screenwriter Dustin Lance Black and the rest of the present team. Standing behind that group would be Rob Epstein and his crew, who unknowingly contributed to this project by making the 1984 documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk*, while farther back in the crowd you'd find the throngs in San Francisco who gave their moral and material support to the title character (and so to the present movie) by flooding into the voting booths and the streets. If you wanted to compile an accurate production history, I suppose you'd have to look still deeper into the past, before Harvey Milk had thought about political office or even moved to California. Start with the gays of his generation who endured routine harassment, humiliation and arrest, and with the Stonewall Inn rioters who rose in revolt.

In fact, Van Sant begins *Milk* with that very generation. He evokes their lives in a documentary montage of police raids on bygone bars: archival footage full of sudden harsh light, averted faces, tightly packed police wagons and the very occasional defiant glare. This sequence, playing under the opening credits, is the first of the film's many declarations that *Milk* is about a movement, not a man—despite the one-character title, the *auteurist* credit line and the Oscar-friendly star performance.

Narrated in voiceover by its lightly fictionalized protagonist, who in a frame sequence records his political testament on the eve of his assassination, *Milk* seems less like a biopic than a fast-moving course in community organizing. You learn little about Harvey Milk's life before age 40 (as if he'd sprung into being fully formed in 1970, in the wake of Stonewall); but there's plenty of information about consumer boycotts, citizen patrols, leafleting, redistricting, choosing strategic issues and negotiating quid pro quos. These topics play out in scenes that usually bustle with multiple characters—five or six in Milk's camera shop/political headquarters, hundreds at debates and meetings, thousands at demonstrations—but that are also models of narrative efficiency, since the screenplay never introduces a plot point without following it immediately with another. Has Harvey just been told that his speeches are grim and off-putting? Then at once he's walking along a darkened street, feeling endangered, only to reach home and find an important new ally waiting for him. Has Harvey just received the first newspaper endorsement of his career? Then at once a sweet, lost young man stumbles by—just his type!—and becomes the new love of his life.

*Milk* does have its moments of domestic intimacy between Harvey and his poor, doomed lover Jack Lira (Diego Luna), just as there are two-character scenes featuring Harvey's earlier and much stronger partner Scott Smith (James Franco, who is smashing in 1970s Brillo hair and skintight jeans). But it's remarkable how the film mutes even the most terrible personal crises in Harvey's life—this, for a man who adored opera and is repeatedly linked in the film with *Tosca*—or else registers them and then quickly passes on to the next ballot initiative. The intention, perhaps, is to suggest how Harvey, like Tosca herself, would coolly and consistently master his feelings in the necessary service of projecting an image, whether by getting a haircut and putting on a cheap suit (so as not to alarm the straights) or by ignoring a death threat that had just been placed in his hands (so as to get up before an audience and rally their spirits). "Politics is theater," Harvey advises Scott early in the film; later he demonstrates the same principle to his aide Cleve Jones (Emile Hirsch) by dancing up the grand staircase at City Hall. In most good stories about the theater, though, the private life contradicts the public role; whereas in *Milk*, the backstage Harvey is never less than the character he plays before the world—brave, witty, dedicated, genial and honest. Is the result hagiographic? No. Monochromatic? A little.

While admiring the sweep, the heart and the humility of *Milk*, I strain to think of moments I can recommend to you for their color and intensity—the exceptions being the scenes between Harvey and his assassin, fellow San Francisco supervisor Dan White. Here the self-assurance, thoughtfulness and nuance of Sean Penn's beautiful performance come into alarming conflict with Josh Brolin's conception of White as a case history in Reichian body-armoring, whose increasingly febrile eyes stare out at the world from atop a muscled fortress that is starting to crack. It may seem perverse, but the most compelling exchanges in *Milk* take place in these scenes with the future killer—which stand apart in their actorly bravura—while the most thrilling moviemaking takes place in the assassination sequence, the one section that looks and feels like "a Gus Van Sant film."

Am I saying that Van Sant should have cut away the politics and made a tone poem about Milk, the way he did about Kurt Cobain in *Last Days*? God forbid. But moviegoers who are thinking about buying a ticket for *Milk*—I hope there will be many—ought to know that the film (like the man) depends for its effect not just on inner resources but on the external strength of a movement.

Or perhaps two movements. By an unhappy coincidence, a film that has much to say about California's antigay Proposition 6 of 1978 (which was defeated, thanks in large measure to Harvey Milk's labors) has been released just after the passage of California's antigay Proposition 8. *Milk* draws urgency from this unwanted demonstration that gay politics, after all this time, still has its work cut out for it. But the film draws urgency as well from a happier electoral coincidence. Here is the story of a successful community organizer—the first member of his social group to rise to a certain office—who continually tells his supporters that they are the true source of change, and whose final words in the film are, "You gotta give 'em hope. You gotta give 'em hope. You gotta give 'em hope."

Think of the audacity.

Having long been fascinated by films that imitate the eclectic, historicizing grandeur of World's Fairs, or that at least aspire to be national pavilions in celluloid form, I am almost honor-bound to love Baz Luhrmann's *Australia*. After an absence of almost seven years, the master of *Moulin Rouge!* has returned to the screen with a movie that wants to be the pride of its continent and is big enough to give it a good shot. The filming was done all over the country: from a sound stage in Sydney to spectacular locations in the east, north and west. The cast is a roster of Australian film icons, present and past: Nicole Kidman and Hugh Jackman in the leads, supported by David Wenham (*The Boys*), Bryan Brown (*Breaker Morant*), Jack Thompson (*Breaker Morant*) and David Gulpilil (*Walkabout*). As for the story, it's a romantic adventure about cattle ranching in the outback, combined with a World War II drama, combined with a social issues picture about the treatment of aboriginal people, combined with a musical (of course—this is a Baz Luhrmann film). There are kangaroos and crocodiles, dream songs and Mars-colored rock formations, deserts, oceans, boom towns, trail camps and aching desire under a night sky sparkling with stars.

Or, to make a different accounting, there are stock characters, clichéd situations, standard-issue plot elements and much sentimental ballyhoo. About the only thing you don't get in *Australia* is irony. Luhrmann may have patched together a national epic out of his memories of old mediocre movies, but they're memories he cherishes, and he wants to make them glorious for you.

So here is a bright-blond Kidman, striding about like a well-tailored race-walker and emitting alarmed hoots as she takes on the role of Lady Sarah Ashley, an Englishwoman come to 1930s Australia to take charge of her long-absent husband's cattle ranch. No sooner has she disembarked at Darwin than she is thrown with leaden jocularity into the hands of Jackman, an outback Hercules so plain-spoken, independent, brawling and sweaty that he is known simply as The Drover. With much ill will and many double entendres, The Drover conveys Lady Sarah to her remote and desolate ranch house, where she finds nothing that would make her want to stay in Australia—nothing, that is, except Nullah (Brandon Walters), the mixed-race boy who narrates this tale with mystical and poetic flourishes, serves as the *genius loci* and quickly becomes Lady Sarah's surrogate son.

Between its forced humor and equally forced splendor—the popping eyeballs and the pixilated flyover shots—this exposition is not a very promising start for *Australia*, and not a brief one, either. What ensues, however, is another matter. Luhrmann delivers the best cattle drive I've seen in ages, with the most thrilling stampede; the hungriest initial kiss, in the most joyfully drenching downpour; the scariest aerial bombardment; the most shamelessly touching harmonica rendition of "Over the Rainbow." The script doesn't do much to hold these moments together, given that the writers (Luhrmann, Stuart Beattie, Ronald Harwood and Richard Flanagan) are so ill matched that they could be candidates for a walked-into-a-bar joke. But then, *Australia* doesn't pretend to offer depth or coherence, intellectual or otherwise. It trades in the stuff of the movies, with close-up after close-up of Kidman glowing in the lamps of cinematographer Mandy Walker; sweeping shots of Jackman galloping across the screen at the head of a thundering herd, to the accompaniment of a triumphant brass chorus; even a fox trot through the blazing colors of an outdoor ball held under paper lanterns, with chinoiserie dresses to match.

The score, by David Hirschfelder, makes liberal use of "Sheep May Safely Graze" to evoke the joys of a cattle ranch, so I guess the film isn't entirely without irony. But did I love it? Almost.

Toward the end of Kelly Reichardt's *Wendy and Lucy*, a security guard at a Walgreens presses $6 worth of kindness into the hand of the main character, a young woman stranded in a small city in Oregon. By this point in the film, you know how much money is left in the woman's pocket (a couple hundred), how much it would cost to fix her broken-down Honda (thousands), how far she needs to travel to get that cannery job she wants in Alaska (too far) and how much help she can expect from her family back in Fort Wayne (none). The six bucks aren't going to be much help, either. But the elderly guard is the closest thing to a friend that the woman has in this town, and the shot of the money, lying in her hand in the crisp early morning light, is so vivid that you can almost feel the moisture of the crumpled bills.

As in her previous feature, *Old Joy*, Reichardt advances a subtle, observational style of realism in *Wendy and Lucy*, keeping the lead performance by Michelle Williams restrained and inward, lingering on immaculately composed views of side streets or railyards, concentrating the action on a single problem. (Will Wendy find her missing dog?) Given the slight sentimentality of the screenplay (co-written with Jon Raymond), which underscores the hapless victimhood of Wendy and the callous piety of the people around her, I might describe the film as a contemporary American *Bicycle Thief*, if it had a bicycle or a thief. What it does have, in ample measure, is a clear eye, a patient heart and a much-needed respect for material facts. *Wendy and Lucy* will open on December 10 in New York at Film Forum, where it will shine in quiet valor among the season's bigger, dimmer pictures. ■

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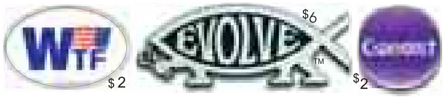

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**ASHEVILLE, NC,** *Nation* discussion group forming. Contact mgibney@unca.edu.

**BRENTWOOD, CALIF.** New *Nation* discussion group forming. We'd like to start meetings soon. Contact ibhernandez2003@yahoo.com.

**THE SPOKANE/INLAND NORTHWEST** *Nation* discussion group: Gil Murray, (509) 999-4502; Box 293, Cheney, WA 99004; e-mail: gbmurray2@aol.com.

**SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.,** *Nation* discussion group meetings are starting up. Please e-mail loisaalbq@yahoo.com.

**SAN ANTONIO** *Nation* discussion group. Second Mondays, Grady's Bar-B-Q at San Pedro and Jackson Keller. Contact lenwheeler@satx.rr.com for more information.

**RICHMOND, VA,** *Nation* discussion group is seeking new members. Contact Wayne Young, (804) 232-8521, Youngwayne88838@aol.com.

**A NEW *NATION* UTAH YAHOO GROUP** has been created at http://groups.yahoo.com/group/thenationutah. To join contact Sam Evans, (801) 791-8089 or sameritech@yahoo.com.

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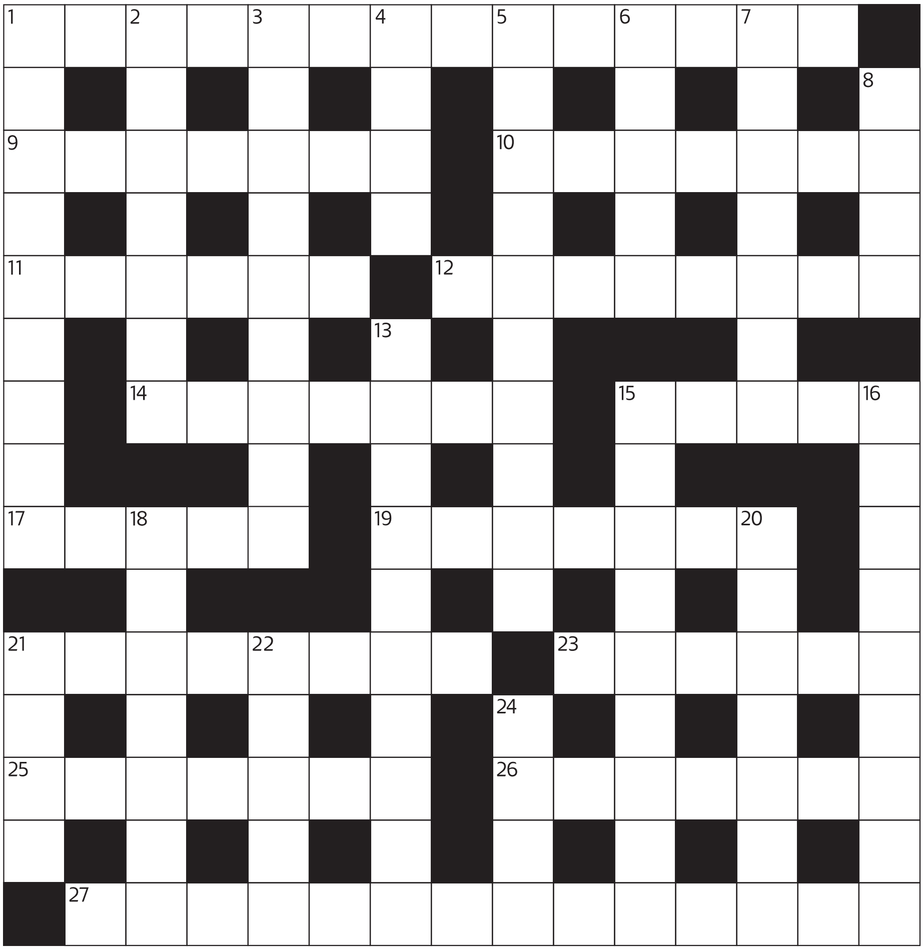
# Puzzle No. 3149

FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

**1** Until you run out of rope, far from a sweet beginning. (2,3,6,3)

**9** What the predator possibly did has little weight in the police department. (7)

**10** This artist's neighbors referred to him mainly by his origins. (2,5)

**11** How we don't like to be on the phone. (2,4)

**12** What the one in poetry did in his glee. (8)

**14** Where we used to watch movies had quite a racket around almost all of the stream. (5-2)

**15** Teams display at least one point on a fateful day. (5)

**17** Poet who suggests he was not just a comer. (5)

**19** Not the usual phrases that describe those who carry certain loads. (7)

**21** The derring-do kind are shown in this sort of print, at times. (4,4)

**23** Proving a belonger has to show an arm or a leg. (6)

**25** Miss West has the wrong sort of musical leader… (7)

**26** …but at least this is a good musical. (7)

**27** Evidently the finding of gold was a good deal, if you make a deal this way. (6,1,7)

## DOWN

**1** What the old singer was doing in the tulip garden shouldn't have created a lot of noise. (9)

**2** Asked for a bit of money? Little Edward has a word of pain internally. (7)

**3** The strange device on a poetic banner. (Just like a bit of straw!) (9)

**4** Where they race you find your insides show it. (4)

**5** He sits with his chin in his hands, being the skinny type when the frog is half there. (3,7)

**6** It's OK to say this just before you quit talking, and "out with it!" (5)

**7** Have to have come first, being so teased. (7)

**8** and **16** One of the original do-gooders. (4,9)

**13** By itself, you get a ringer, but she had a helluva environment part of the time! (10)

**15** Song of a May-December romance? (9)

**16** See 8

**18** Like a certain coyote, at best! (7)

**20** Being sent to it wasn't pleasant, the point being made to Spain and Portugal. (7)

**21** A stage performance that's really bad should go off with a bang! (4)

**22** All together, boys! (5)

**24** The bad mark given a nonunion type. (4)

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3148

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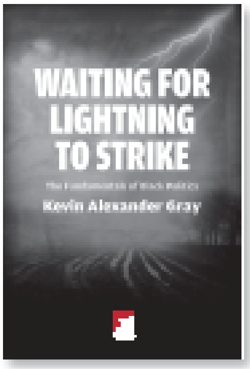

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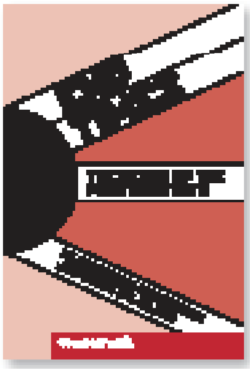

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